

VOTES FOR WOMEN

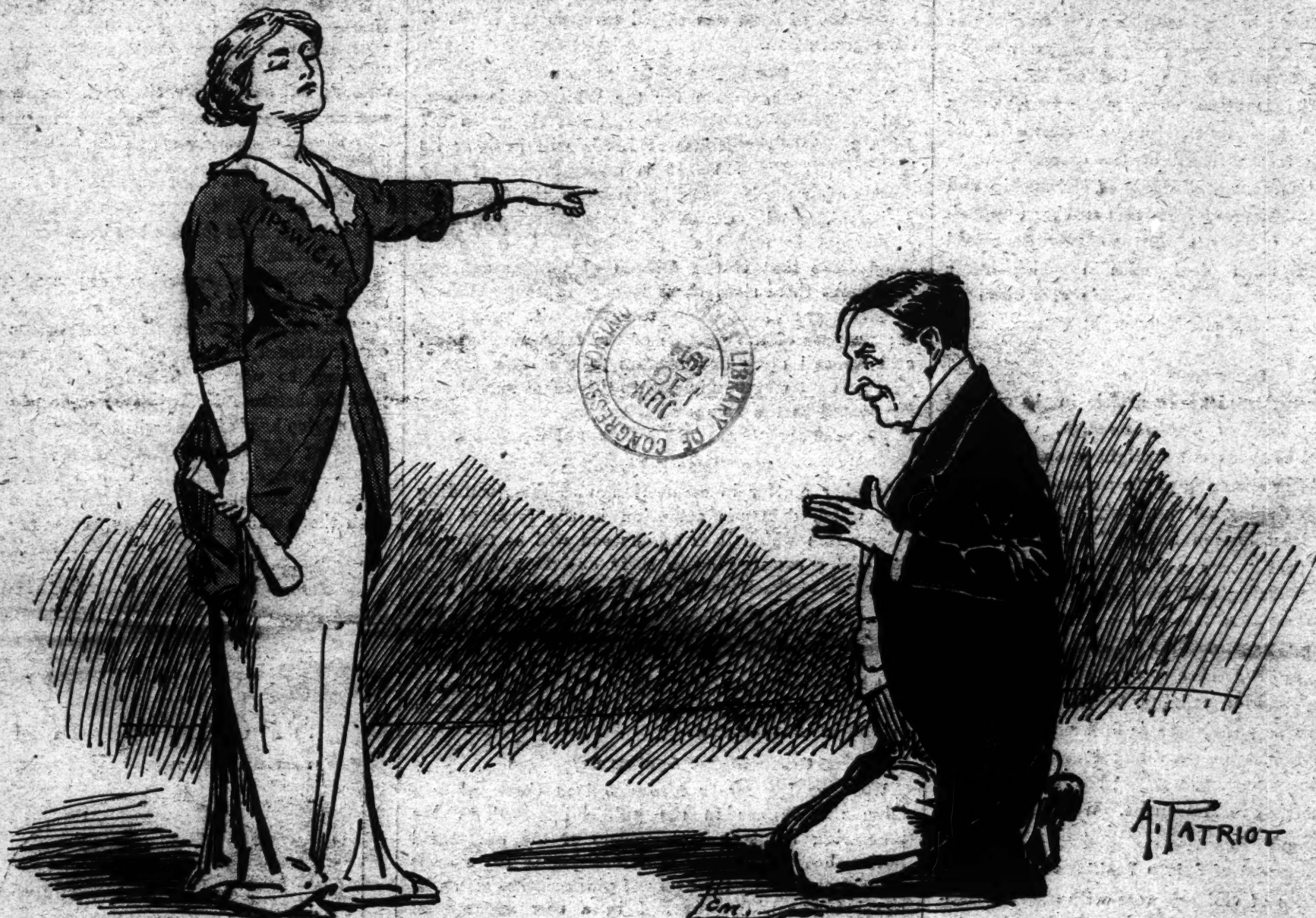
EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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THE REJECTED ONE



All the Woman Suffrage Societies united in appealing to the Ipswich Electors to vote against Mr. Masterman

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper

THE OUTLOOK

The principal event of the week has been the women's deputation to the King, which took place on Thursday in last week, after we had gone to press.

"Worse than Black Friday"

The day will be memorable for the disgraceful violence shown by the police toward the women taking part. In spite of the fact that the police were present in overwhelming numbers—something like two thousand police to a few hundred demonstrators—they seem, from the accounts which reach us, to have

placed no bounds upon their ferocity. Women were knocked senseless to the ground and trampled on, they were struck at with truncheons, horses were backed into them in places where they could not retreat. They were lifted up and literally flung into the crowd.

Retaliatory Violence

These horrible scenes took place at the "Wellington" Gate of St. James's Park, at the top of Constitution Hill, whither the procession of women had wended their way. Some of the demonstrators, faced with this violence, retaliated, some women brought out Indian clubs and struck at the police, others endeavoured to cut the reins by which the police controlled their horses, but many offered no aggressive violence of any kind. All the reports which we have received from eye-witnesses agree in stating that until the women were assaulted in the most brutal manner they took no action but to persist in pushing forward on their mission. Altogether some sixty-seven arrests were made, including that of Mrs. Pankhurst.

Distorted News in the Press

With few exceptions, the Press gave an entirely garbled version of the occurrences. The police were represented as behaving with great forbearance and gentleness; the *Daily Mail*, in defiance of the account which had appeared only the night before in a paper which is published under the same roof, even went so far as to say that only on one occasion was a police officer seen to use his baton, and that "the police behaved with perfect good temper and dis-

cretion. In spite of most irritating assaults they used no more force than was necessary to place the women under arrest." It is difficult to find words to describe the shamelessness of this wholesale fabrication of news which now goes on regularly in most of the newspaper offices of the country. It applies not merely to the woman suffrage issue, but to many other questions of importance, and is fraught with the gravest danger to the liberty of the subject.

A Striking Confirmation of Our Story

One of the few accounts to give an insight into the true facts was that published in the 6.30 "Close of Play" Edition of the *Evening News*. This was preceded by a still more striking short account in the ordinary 6.30 edition, which contained the following sentences:—

A strong guard of police was drawn up, and when the women attempted to force the gates they were shown no mercy by the constables.

They were knocked down, ridden down by the mounted men, and thrown into the crowd with the utmost force.

Several of the women who seized the bridles of the horses were struck at by the riders, and when they refused to leave go, the men drew their truncheons and struck at them wildly.

This statement by the reporter was apparently considered too strong by the sub-editor, and was modified in the succeeding edition.

How Revolutionaries are Made

The ferocious treatment of the Deputation had the result which anyone with a knowledge of human

nature—particularly of the kind of human nature which makes rebels—could have anticipated. Attacks upon the pictures in the galleries, upon valuable relics in the museums, upon property, private and public, in divers places, have followed thick and fast upon one another. In the police court a large number of the arrested suffragettes have thrown all restraints to the winds, and have both by speech and action defied the magistrate and the officers of the court. The attempt of the authorities to restrain the prisoners from these acts has led to disorderly interruptions from the public in the court, which in turn has led to their ejection with violence. Meanwhile the police have again raided Lincoln's Inn House, the headquarters of the W.S.P.U. A statement has also appeared in the Press purporting to represent the intention of the Home Office to resort to forcible feeding in the great majority of cases of the women arrested.

Our Own View

We yield to none in deploring this vicious chain of violence which seems daily dragging us nearer to the brink of some terrible tragedy; but unlike most of the critics of the situation, we trace the present ugly state of affairs back to the fountain source of the trouble, which is the denial by the Government to women of the fundamental rights of citizenship and their refusal to be moved from this stubborn opposition by any and every constitutionally expressed demand. Let them deal with the legitimate grievances of women and the whole campaign of violence on both sides will be brought automatically to an end.

Other Comments

This view is endorsed by an article in the current issue of the *Christian Commonwealth*, which has never hesitated to speak out straight upon the events of the day. After speaking of the proceedings in the police court on Friday as "intensely painful to anyone with the least human feeling," the writer proceeds to say that "only a fool could dismiss the events of the morning and what led up to them as the absurd antics of a few wild women," and concludes that the present way of dealing with the agitation is neither heroic nor successful. He beseeches ministers of religion to put their heads together to induce politicians to find a real solution of the whole imbroglio. An important cable from Miss Goldstein announces a strong resolution carried at a public meeting in Melbourne. We print it in an adjoining column.

Re-arrest of Sylvia Pankhurst

Further scenes of violence were witnessed on Sunday at the demonstration of the East End Federation of Suffragettes. Though only a peaceful procession and meeting were contemplated, the presence of Sylvia Pankhurst, who is a "mouse," induced the police to make a furious onslaught into the ranks of the demonstrators. Miss Pankhurst, who had anticipated this attack, had chained herself to fifteen of her supporters, and only after a severe conflict with the police was she separated from them and carried off to prison. These events happened inside Victoria Park, the gates of which the police had closed. Outside the park a fierce battle for admission was waged, and many people were knocked down by the police and injured.

One Traitor the Less in the House

The defeat of Mr. Masterman at Ipswich is a very satisfactory piece of work, and is a measure of what suffragists can accomplish when they are united. Every suffrage society opposed his candidature, and Mr. Masterman, in explaining away his defeat, said that he attributed it to the presence in the constituency of so many outside agencies. As the principal "outside agencies" were the suffrage organisations, Mr. Masterman's explanation is a Liberal euphemism for an admission that he owed his defeat to the instrumentality of the women whom he has despised and betrayed. It will be remembered that Mr. Masterman, though professing to be a suffragist and claiming support from suffragists on this account at his election in Bethnal Green in 1911,

had not only already voted against the Conciliation Bill in 1910 on the ground that it was restricted, but voted against it again in 1912, when this restriction had been removed.

Enthusiastic Suffrage Meeting

We give on the opposite page a full account of the first large public meeting held by the "United Suffragists." Both the large and the small Portman Rooms were filled to overflowing, and a large number of people were turned away from the doors, unable to find standing room. Olive Schreiner received a great ovation, and the only regret of the audience was that her condition of health did not permit her to say more than a few words, particularly as she had herself been present as a spectator at the deputation, and was indignant beyond words at what she had seen. Miss Lena Ashwell, in the chair, Bishop Powell, Miss Edyth Olive, Mr. Douglas Eyre, Professor Caroline Spurgeon, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mr. Gerald Gould, and a member of the audience, who gave a graphic description of the events which she had witnessed that afternoon, roused the audience to enthusiasm, and a sum of £455 was raised towards the funds of the organisation.

The Rights of Irishwomen

Parliament has risen for the Whitsuntide recess, and the House of Commons will not sit again till June 9, while the House of Lords will prolong its holiday till June 16. It is understood that very shortly after the House of Lords meets, the Amending Bill dealing with the Home Rule question will be introduced into that chamber by the Government. We believe that if the friends of woman suffrage will exert themselves there is a genuine possibility of carrying an amendment to enfranchise women for the purpose of the election of the Irish Parliament, and we call upon our readers to use their utmost efforts to get an amendment to this effect moved and supported in the House of Lords preparatory to its subsequent acceptance in the House of Commons.

The Ulster Referendum

Another matter in connection with the Amending Bill which demands attention is the form of the referendum which it is understood will be taken of the Ulster counties as to their exclusion from the operation of the Home Rule Bill. It is essential that this referendum should be to the women or the register as well as to the men. Sir Edward Carson can hardly resist this proposal, in view of the fact that his Provisional Government would, according to his promise, have been elected by the votes of women as well as those of men.

Grave Charge Against Detectives

We have frequently commented in these columns upon the danger to the public involved in the increasing numbers and powers of the uniformed police, but this danger is as nothing to the serious menace created by the army of plain clothes men who are being rapidly enrolled in a new department formed to deal with political crime. In the police court on Saturday last Mr. Victor Duval made a very grave statement to the effect that when the court was being cleared on the previous day he was turning to leave quietly when he was set upon with the greatest brutality by four men in ordinary clothes, whom he learnt afterwards to be detectives, who proceeded to pummel him within an inch of his life. As we understand that Mr. Duval is contemplating taking further proceedings in the matter, so that the truth of his allegation is to be tested in court, we refrain from any comment at the present time.

Serious Incitement to Outrage

We hope that Mr. Hopkins the magistrate, will receive a reprimand for the serious incitement to outrage which he permitted himself to utter in expressing his inability to grant a summons for a woman who had been violently assaulted by a man in plain clothes in Hyde Park. Mr. Hopkins is reported to have said:—

Some day the exasperated crowd will break into a procession of militants, and then what will happen to you women nobody knows. For the moment you have to thank the police for being alive. You owe them a debt of gratitude.

It should be perfectly clear to Mr. Hopkins, as it is to ourselves and to other members of the public, that this is nothing less than an invitation to the hooligan element in the crowd to break up and set upon the next body of suffragettes they come across.

The Nationality of Women

In Committee on the Nationalisation Bill Mr. McKenna refused to make any change in the status

of wives, who therefore remain in the subordinate position of having to accept willy nilly the nationality of their husbands. He promised, however, that widows should be allowed the option of making a simple declaration of their desire to return to the nationality of their birth. Even this concession, however, is not to be made in the Bill itself, but is to be the work of a Home Office regulation. We hope that members of Parliament will continue to protest against this result, which is entirely unsatisfactory to women, and will have to be reversed when women get the vote.

Items of Interest

Mrs. Petrick Lawrence and Mr. George Lansbury were the principal speakers at an enthusiastic meeting held last Monday evening in the Tranent Town Hall, Haddington.

Mr. Cunningham Graham, who has been for some months past the selected Socialist candidate for the Lord Rectorship of Glasgow, has been invited by the Queen Margaret College Suffrage Society to be also the Woman Suffrage candidate, and has accepted.

Mr. McKenna, replying to Mr. Snowden in the House of Commons on Wednesday in last week, admitted that women doctors employed in Government service received lower salary than the men doctors, but denied that the work was equal.

AUSTRALIAN WOMEN'S INDIGNATION

Special Cable from Miss Vida Goldstein

A cablegram as follows has been sent to us by Miss Vida Goldstein:—

"The following resolution was passed at a big open-air demonstration last night:—

"This meeting expresses indignation at the unconstitutional action of the King's advisers in refusing to women their legal right to lay their petition before His Majesty. It deeply regrets that this advice has led to cruel ill-usage of loyal subjects, believing the Liberal Government, for party purposes, have dragged the Crown into conflict with women seeking enfranchisement, and it sympathises with those who demand their immediate resignation.

Vida Goldstein (Chairman).

"Melbourne, May 26."

USEFUL SPORTS HAT.



BECOMING HAT in white bowen with coloured underbrim of fancy straw and banded with ribbon to match, in black, navy, brown, purple, rose and sage ... Price 8/9

Debenham & Freebody
Wigmore Street, London, W.

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS' MEETING

On Thursday evening in last week the United Suffragists held their first public meeting in the Large Portman Rooms. The demand for seats was so great that an overflow meeting, presided over by Mr. Henry W. Nevins, was held in the Small Portman Rooms, numbers of people were admitted to standing room only, while a large crowd had to be refused admission altogether. A sum of £455 was raised at the meeting, and brilliant speeches were made by men and women representative of varied interests and spheres of public life. Well-known people, vice-presidents of the U.S., supported the speakers on the platform.

THE SPEECHES

Opening Address

MISS LENA ASHWELL

Miss Lena Ashwell, in the chair, welcomed the large audience, and gave some account of the United Suffragists and the work they are doing. She went on to contrast the movement in America, from which country she had just returned, with the movement in England. She, with Mrs. Bernard Shaw, had walked in the Boston Suffrage procession on May 2, and was struck with the sympathy they received. "There was not one sign of the attitude which, believe me, is driving mad the women of this country. (Applause.) There was nothing but interest, respect, and politeness—and in that I think this country may well learn a lesson." (Applause.)

Having described also the different attitude of the American Press, which has always dealt fairly with the American suffrage movement, Miss Ashwell proceeded to point out how the newspapers here have misrepresented the Suffragists and suppressed news of their constitutional efforts. In America woman had constitutional rights even without the possession of the vote. In this country women's constitutional rights would have to be searched for with a microscope—"and of exercising the few rights we had, such as petitioning, we have seen the result to-day."

To illustrate the attitude of Englishmen towards their women, Miss Ashwell concluded with the story of the Bishop who asked a little girl who made her. He had to repeat the question three times. Then she said: "Please, sir, the boy as God made is at home; I am only dust." (Laughter.) "That," added Miss Ashwell, "is where the British Government wish women to remain—in the dust." (Applause.)

BISHOP POWELL

The Right Rev. Bishop Powell, late Bishop of Mashonaland, now Rector of St. Saviour's, Poplar, made a stirring appeal for the speedy enfranchisement of women, based on his own experiences of the suffering of the poor.

"We want to see a new era," he said; "we want to see everything changed, and I am quite sure the quickest way, and the most peaceful way, and the most efficacious way is for men to be forced to call the women into partnership, and then we shall get a little practical bettering of our conditions. I am perfectly sure of that."

Having dealt with the sweating of women, the Bishop continued:

"I think a great deal about sweating, but the thing I think most of all about is the purity question, and that is the real reason that, if I possibly can, I always come to these meetings when I am asked to speak. (Applause.) If there is one question about which the men of England have shown themselves absolutely incompetent, it is this purity question."

He added that if the Bishop of London's Bill were to pass, it would show that "this woman's movement has done a magnificent work, and will have a tremendous triumph." But if it did not pass, "we shall insist that as men have proved themselves hopelessly incompetent, and hopelessly cruel, for there is no worse cruelty, surely, than the degradation of a girl—much better murder her outright, much better!—(applause)—they shall call in the help of women, and let women have an equal say in the matter, and so help the men, who have shown themselves to be so utterly lacking in decency, to preserve the purity of our girls." (Applause.)

OLIVE SCHREINER

Mrs. Cropwright Schreiner, who had a great reception, made what the *Manchester Guardian* calls "the shortest Suffrage speech on record." She said:—

"Many years ago, when, as a child of nine, I first began to think of the question of the franchise, I failed to see any reason

which could appeal to a thoughtful, rational mind why the franchise should be given to human beings on the basis of their sexual difference. Throughout the course of a long life I have been seeking to find this reason, and I have not yet done so, so now I see that I never shall. (Laughter.) Therefore, I am in favour of granting the franchise to women." (Applause.)

"Too Deeply Shocked"

When she sat down at the conclusion of this brief profession of her faith, there was so much disappointment shown at its brevity that Miss Ashwell had to explain, after a brief colloquy with the speaker, that Mrs. Schreiner was unable to say more, because she had seen the women's deputation broken up by the police that afternoon, and although "she is not a militant and has always been strongly anti-militant," she was too deeply shocked by the way the women were treated to be able to speak more to them on the subject.

Miss Ashwell continued, speaking of that afternoon's scenes: "When you realise what is going on day by day and hour by hour, then you know what it is that is making militants. (Applause.) Whatever your feeling is, whether you approve or disapprove of militancy, whether you are angry or bitter against it, or whether you are only indifferent, believe me, militancy and acts of violence do not arise of themselves, they are the result of other actions, and the whole thing is the result of the position which women are not only in, but are kept in."

MISS EVELYN SHARP

Miss Evelyn Sharp spoke of the scenes outside Buckingham Palace, to which she had been witness that afternoon, and said they had made her realise afresh the basic reason why women are out fighting for the vote. "It is because they know that the thing they are fighting against is the idea of the subjection of women, and the thing they are fighting for is to establish the fact that women are not to be judged as women but as human beings. (Applause.) That crowd to-day, and those police especially, were not judging the women who were on that deputation as human beings at all; they were judging them as women."

The right to petition, she continued, was of especial value to voteless women, being their only effective constitutional weapon. Yet for exercising it during the past eight years women had been treated worse than pickpockets—for a pickpocket is arrested without being knocked about first. President Lincoln had said: "If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or Government will cease." That was what is happening in this country. She used the word "minority," not of Suffragists, to whom it does not apply, but of those who are in the fighting line, who, in every movement, are necessarily in the minority. And this minority would never acquiesce; no amount of coercion would succeed in governing these women without their consent, so, because the majority would not acquiesce by granting their claim for the vote, Government, as regarded this minority, had already ceased. (Applause.) Miss Sharp then went on to draw a picture of the vision in the minds of the women who went to Buckingham Palace that day, of the toiling, suffering, sweated women who could not be there themselves, of the women driven on the streets by economic pressure, of the thousands of babies who die annually in our slums from preventable causes. "If the militants had not that vision before their eyes I think they couldn't go on." (Applause.)

Miss Sharp concluded by describing the activities of the United Suffragists, their political and other work, and made an appeal for funds, with the result recorded above.

MISS EDYTH OLIVE

Miss Edyth Olive made a picturesque speech, and delivered it in a way that belied her opening statement that she had never made a speech in her life. She assured her audience that she "had never become a Suffragette. By the grace of God I was born one." (Laughter.) In the past women had given both body and brain to the making of men. This was necessary because men were getting killed in wars. "At the moment," continued the speaker, "we are in a curious state of evolution, and it is interesting to note that since men have stopped fighting women have taken upon themselves to do the hard and dirty work of the world. They don't build houses, but they keep those houses clean. They don't build ships, but they forge the chains that hold them to their anchorage. . . . We are not all makers of men, but we are all very busy cleaning up all the mess men have made in the world."

The only men seriously opposed to woman suffrage, she declared, are "politicians, golfers, and a few who have had their portraits hung in the Royal Academy (laughter)." She was convinced that "the work of the world in future has got to be carried on jointly by man and woman, that the foundation of that work is love. . . . I am a Suffragist because I am a woman, and because I am a woman I love my country and my brother man. I want to

serve both." She ended by saying: "We all pay the fiddler of State, we therefore must have our say in the tune he shall play. I pray you let us speak him fair, that the harmonies prevail—and that the tune may be beautiful."

MR. DOUGLAS EYRE

Mr. Douglas Eyre dealt with the Anti-Suffragist arguments of the Prime Minister, and dealt with them as a social reformer. He said:—

"I am here to-night to say that I am absolutely convinced that not only the cause of the excluded class is thrust into the background because they have not the vote, but I am quite sure that the cause of the whole community is at this moment, and has been in the past throughout modern history, not championed as it should be, because women have not their right place in Parliament and at the electoral ballot."

Dealing with infantile mortality, "the great disgrace of our modern civilization," he referred to the reform effected in this respect in Colorado since women had the vote there. "I, speaking as a lawyer, tell you that those are the best set of Statutes on behalf of children that are to be found on the Statute books of the world, and they are due directly to women's enfranchisement." (Applause.)

He believed in no halting place for women's progress if, as Mr. Gladstone said, the enfranchisement of capable citizens is a condition to the work of the State. Women should be admitted to Parliament, to all the professions, to juries. (Applause.)

PROFESSOR SPURGEON

Professor Caroline Spurgeon said she did not look upon the vote as an isolated fact. The question of woman suffrage should be regarded historically in perspective. "There is some truth in the statement that it does not make very much difference whether an individual has a vote or not, but it makes all the difference in the world whether the class of individuals to which you belong have votes. . . . By reason of enfranchising, as we have done through the nineteenth century, millions of men, we have practically disfranchised at the same time millions of women, by putting them outside of what did not exist before."

Men of the Past

Professor Spurgeon then quoted some amusing opinions of women by men in the past: Milton, who spoke of woman, "that fair, defective thing"; Lord Chesterfield, who held that "women are only children of short growth. A man of sense only trifles with them, plays with them, humours them, and flatters them, as he does with a sprightly, forward child." (Laughter.) Defoe, on the contrary, demanded the higher education of women, and denounced those who denied it to women and at the same time despised them for being ignorant.

Summing Up the Position

A lady who, under the pseudonym of "Sophia," wrote a pamphlet in 1751, called "Woman Not Inferior to Man," summed up the whole position thus: "Why is learning useless to us? Because we have no share in public office. And why have we no share in public office? Because we have no learning." Similarly, concluded the speaker, it is said to-day:

"Why are women debarred from the franchise? Because they have no experience of public life and no interest in public affairs. Why have they no experience of public life and no interest in public affairs? Because they are debarred from the franchise."

MR. GERALD GOULD

Mr. Gerald Gould, very wittily, and at the same time trenchantly, made out the women's case against the Government and the House of Commons. He took Mr. Harcourt, "behind whom, I am told, stretches a long line of prancing aristocrats with battle-axes," and Mr. F. E. Smith, "who has had to grind his own battle-axe," as types of English gentlemen whose principle it is that "you need not keep your promise to a woman." The principle of Woman Suffrage had been defeated in Parliament between those who were Anti-Suffragists and those who were Suffragist Antis. (Laughter.) The sky of Suffrage had seemed clear when there appeared on the sky a cloud no bigger than a man's hand. "That was Mr. Asquith showing his hand. (Laughter.) That was the introduction of the Manhood Suffrage Bill. You may remember a cloud in 'Hamlet' which was like a whale. This one was very like a red herring." (Laughter.)

Mr. Gould ended with a fine peroration about militancy. "I confess that when I am depressed about this movement, it seems to me that the sufferings of those women is all I care about in militancy." (Applause.) He called upon his audience not to condemn militants till they had studied the causes of militancy, till they had asked themselves if they had done what they could to right the wrongs militants were out to reform. "If you have," he concluded, "you will not want to throw

a stone; if you have not, you have no right to throw a stone at the women who, whether their acts are wise or foolish, whether their acts are effective or ineffective, are at any rate laying down their lives to right that great wrong you and I are responsible for." (Applause.)

AN INCIDENT

At the end of the meeting a woman rose in the audience and asked if she might make a statement. Invited on the platform, she said her daughter had been a member of the deputation, had given up her work in order to go on it. She herself accompanied her to-day, and she now begged the audience not to believe what they read in the papers if the papers said that the police were gentle with the women. "I saw one on a horse," she said, "striking a lady in the face many times with his gloves. Another policeman on horseback tried to strike her with his baton, but it slipped out of his hand. I was near enough to get it, and I know I meant to strike him as hard as I could. (Applause.) But as soon as I grasped it, it was dragged from me by another, and I was thrown back into a gap in the roadway, where dozens were being thrown, not like women, but like footballs or hockey balls. That is what I saw. I saw another lady struck by a policeman, and others were knocked down on the roadway. I saw many other things."

ANTI-SUFFRAGE SPLIT

The following letter appeared in the *Times* last Saturday:—

LOCAL PARLIAMENTS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Sir,—In view of the correspondence that has lately appeared in your columns on the above subject, the Executive Committee of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, at their meeting yesterday, passed the following resolution, to which we shall be grateful if you will give publicity:—

"The Executive Committee of the N.L.O.W.S., while reaffirming their opposition to the Parliamentary vote for women, consider that the discussion of the franchise for possible Federal Parliaments is at present both premature and academic."

—We are, yours faithfully,
CURZON OF KEDLESTON,
WEARDALE,
Presidents of the League.

May 22.

This is in direct opposition to the views of Mrs. Humphry Ward as expressed in her recent letters to the *Times* (see last issue of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*), in which she expressed her approval of the woman's vote in Local Parliaments and suggested that Anti-Suffragists should join with Suffragists in working for it.

Does this mean an Anti-Suffrage split?

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND ANTI-SUFFRAGE

Mrs. Humphry Ward, presiding over the first annual meeting of the Local Government Advancement Committee (Anti-Suffrage) last Monday, made the admission that it was of little use opposing a merely negative answer to a suffrage demand, and the Committee, while not in favour of the Parliamentary vote for women, were strongly in favour of their being brought into local government administration.

How confusing these hair-splitting Antis do render a simple question of justice!

SALARIES OF WOMEN DOCTORS

In the House of Commons on May 20 Mr. Snowden asked Mr. McKenna a question about the salaries of women medical officers under the Mental Deficiency Act, with special reference to the fact that two women candidates had refused these posts on account of the salaries for men and women doctors being unequal. He wanted to know if Government Departments did not usually pay men and women medical officers the same salaries, and if so, why had the practice been departed from in this case?

In the course of his answer, Mr. McKenna said: There is no rule or practice requiring the salaries of men and women medical officers in the Government service to be the same.

Mr. Snowden: Seeing it is impossible to get women doctors at these rates of pay, will they now offer the women the same salary as the men?

Mr. McKenna: I am not sure what appointments have been made.

Mr. MacCallum Scott: Is my right hon. friend aware that a great many distinguished women economists are opposed to the doctrine of equal pay for equal work, and think that it would result disastrously to the interests of women?

Mr. McKenna: I agree with what my hon. friend says. For my own part, I should be ready to give equal pay for equal work, but I am not convinced the work is equal.

BILL OF RIGHTS AT STAKE

Has it Been Repealed?

"It is the Right of the Subject to Petition the King, and all Commitments and Prosecutions for such Petitioning are Illegal"—BILL OF RIGHTS

On Thursday in last week a deputation of women from the Women's Social and Political Union attempted to carry out their intention, announced weeks beforehand, of waiting upon the King to lay their claims as voteless citizens before him. As we have already stated in these columns, the King, acting upon the advice of his Ministers, had refused to receive the women. They, however, announced that they would wait upon him all the same, and as a consequence of this many hundreds of police surrounded Buckingham Palace and guarded the approaches to it. In spite of all precautions, Mrs. Pankhurst managed to reach the precincts of the Palace before she was arrested, several other women also succeeded in breaking through the cordon, and one of them had actually arrived at the Palace gates by the time her pursuers caught her up. The main struggle took place in Constitution Hill, where some hundreds of women arrived in procession from Grosvenor Gardens, and attempted to enter St. James's Park, only to be met by a resistance from the police characterised by brutality such as recalled the happenings of Black Friday in November, 1910. Immense crowds assembled, and traffic was finally suspended, and the Park closed, while some sixty-six women were arrested. We give below some specific accounts of what took place, and reproduce two photographs taken on the spot which describe more eloquently than words the way the petitioners were met by the police.

Has the Bill of Rights been repealed?

ON CONSTITUTION HILL Incredible Police Violence

"There was an amazing fight," says the *Evening News* of May 21, "when the Suffragette deputation which set out to 'interview the King' reached the Waterloo Arch at about four this afternoon. A strong guard of police was drawn up there, and when the women attempted to force

the gates they were shown no mercy by the constables.

"They were knocked down, ridden down by the mounted men, and thrown into the crowd with the utmost force.

"Several of the women who seized the bridles of the horses were struck at by the riders, and when they refused to leave go, the men drew their truncheons and struck at them wildly."

(The italics are ours.) The above account, which we are assured by eye-witnesses is an accurate description of the conduct of the police, is headed "Police Baton the Suffragettes," and we notice that though it appeared in the 6.30 edition, it is omitted from the 6.30 Close of Play" edition of the same paper.

Women Stand Their Ground

The later account in the *Evening News* proceeds to relate how the women refused to retreat. "The police," it says, "landed out" with their fists, and the women were knocked down in numbers. They picked themselves up when they could and renewed the fight, but the police, putting their arms round them, lifted them up and flung them on to the roadway."

When this incredible scene had been in



POLICE GUARDING WELLINGTON GATE.

[Block kindly lent by "Daily Sketch."

progress for what seemed an interminable period of time, orders were given to arrest some of the women. The same newspaper report continues: "They were rushed through the little doorway in the side of the arch into the caretaker's rooms. It was a case of 'in with them, no matter how,' and some went in head first, while others were thrown through backwards."

"The last attack," says the *Evening News*, "was made by a grey-haired woman in black, who was thrown down amid the jeers of the crowd."

Attitude of the Crowd

This attitude of the crowd—the usual thoughtless, idle crowd that alone has time to hang about the West End in the middle of the afternoon—is not surprising in view of the previous statements in most of the newspapers that to carry a petition to Buckingham Palace was "an insult to the King," and that the women who wished to do such a thing were "mad" and "wild" and "lawless." It was a crowd that had never heard of the Bill of Rights, and therefore thought it had every right to badger and mob women who were apparently outside the protection of the law.

Many Severely Injured

It is stated that some of the women threw red and yellow powder over the police, and others produced Indian clubs or scissors with which to cut the bridles of the horses; but it is obvious from the photographs of the scene published in the papers that the great majority of the women were unarmed even to this slight extent, and quite defenceless. Many of them were so severely injured that they lay senseless on the ground, and sworn statements are being prepared, we understand, of their treatment at the hands of the police.

Sixty-six women and two men were arrested in all, and were brought up at Bow Street on Friday morning. (See "In the Courts.")

Journalism!

It is a reflection on latter-day journalism that the *Daily Mail* in its account says that only on one occasion was a police officer "seen to use his baton," and that the police "behaved with perfect good temper and discretion," and "used no more force than was necessary to place the women under arrest."

WHAT AN EYE-WITNESS SAW

I was walking forward to see what was being done to some women. A policeman ran to meet me, and knocked me down over the fainting woman, seen in the picture on this page.

I saw several policemen deliberately knock old and young women down.

I saw a mounted policeman carry a

woman by the seat of her clothes and throw her in the road.

I saw a mounted policeman use his baton mercilessly upon several women. He was striking them as quickly and sharply as he could.

I saw policemen rush a cripple woman in a chair through the crowd, and as I followed heard all the tyres punctured, so she was not able to propel her chair alone. Later I saw her being unmercifully shaken from side to side in her chair.

I saw a mounted man lift a woman off her feet by the hair of her head and drag her along by her hair.

I saw the woman in the picture on this page knocked down by policemen several times. Her clothes were all torn, and she was very exhausted. Every time she got up and went forward she was knocked to the ground, and I was requested by the police to take her to the hospital, which I refused to do, at her request. She was in that condition, through their brutal treatment, and I said they should have arrested her or allowed her to go to the Palace, instead of knocking her almost senseless.

I was rushed along Piccadilly by a policeman merely for going to the aid of an injured woman, and had my arms badly twisted.

I have the numbers in my possession of some of the policemen who did these things.

S. A. F.

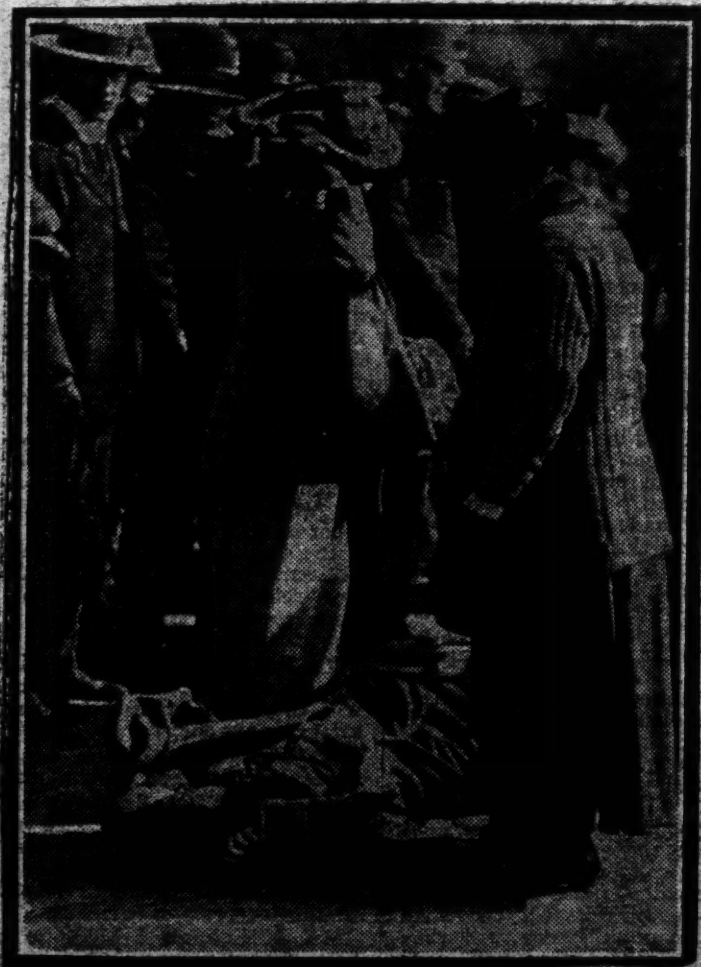
ANOTHER EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT

From a Member of the Deputation
To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—As a member of the deputation, I was an eye-witness of the brutality used by the police (more especially those in plain clothes) towards the women.

When I reached Wellington Gate it was closed, and guarded by two mounted policemen. One woman seized the bridle of one of the horses, and though she was struck repeatedly by the constable, heroically held on until she was flung almost unconscious into the roadway. A man who fought to aid the women was brutally maltreated, his face being a mass of cuts and bruises, and I heard afterwards, his nose broken.

When I was arrested I was rushed into the small police station in the Archway, and treated with the greatest violence, my chest being so badly crushed that I nearly fainted as I was released. Inside the police station women showed the greatest bravery, but they were set upon by the police (those in plain clothes were the most brutal), and terribly knocked about. One woman I saw pushed into a corner and surrounded with men, who were striking her all round. The sight was



[Block kindly lent by "Daily Sketch."

WOMAN KNOCKED SENSELESS BY POLICE

sickening, and I shall never forget it. One low class looking brute (in plain clothes) seemed quite ready to carry out his orders, and was continually striking the women.

I should not have thought it possible that such brutality could have been used if I had not witnessed and experienced it myself, and it is the manifest duty of all decent men and women to insist upon the orders given by the Home Secretary being disclosed.—Yours, &c.,

A MEMBER OF THE DEPUTATION.

AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

(By Our Own Correspondent)

A still larger crowd had assembled outside Buckingham Palace, where it is said 2,000 police were stationed altogether. It was composed mainly of the same idle, ignorant elements that made up the well-dressed mob at Hyde Park Corner, and it had the same faith in the Press statement that the King was being insulted by this attempt of the Suffragettes to avail themselves of a certain provision of the British Constitution.

Re-Arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst

By a ruse some of the women had detached themselves from the main body of the deputation and arrived unnoticed at the edge of the clear space in front of the gates. Among them was Mrs. Pankhurst, and she slipped through the cordon of police and swiftly made her way towards the gates before she was recognised. In another moment, however, she was pounced upon by inspectors and police, and, being already under order of arrest by the terms of the Cat and Mouse Act, she was spared the intermediate torture of ill-treatment, and was taken straight away to Holloway. As she was conveyed to a taxicab, past the surging lines of people, she called out in a clear, composed voice: "Arrested at the gates of the King's palace!"

Her followers were treated unmercifully. Again and again one of them would break through the police cordon and make a wild dash for the Palace, only to be thrown back with force into the crowd by the constables, who caught hold of her, and because she still persisted in her efforts to carry her petition to the Palace, buffeted and hustled and knocked her about. It was long, in most cases, before the women were arrested and taken away from it all, and by the time they received this boon their hair was streaming, their clothes were torn and their general appearance was lamentable. Then the unimaginative on-lookers, seeing nothing but this outward appearance of disorder, and taught by the Press to regard the petitioners as sub-human, jeered at them and called them hooligans, or worse.

Behaviour versus Freedom

But there were better elements even in that crowd, and these were awakened when a sympathiser cried out against the brutality and injustice of it all. She was instantly surrounded by a small mob, and one graceless youth—snarling at her for a Suffragette herself—howled at her to "behave herself," adding the priceless price of information:

"Men wouldn't ha' got their votes if they hadn't known how to behave themselves."

On being supplied with accurate historical facts on this point, her dauntless opponent shifted his ground, and said "ladies" were different. Ladies ought to "behave themselves."

"But they're women, you see," explained the Suffragette. "We think it is more important to be women than ladies."

"Yah! You're a woman first and a lady after, that's what you are!" bellowed the youth.

"Precisely," was the disconcerting reply.

His friend here came to the rescue with the remark that for his part he didn't believe she was a lady at all. But the little controversy had by this time encouraged others in the crowd to proclaim themselves on the side of decency and justice, and the Suffragette left the two youths to them, and moved on.

An American View

An American woman, surveying the scene with mingled amazement and disgust, turned to her.

"Well, I don't wonder you English women have been forced to be militants!" she exclaimed. "If American men treated their women as you are treated over here—"

"!" Her feelings overcame her at this point, and a man who overheard her, said something about the "insult" to the King.

"What?" she said, with her slight drawl. "An insult to go to him with a petition? Say, what do you keep your King for?" She turned and looked once again at the Palace, at the hundreds of police, at the gallant, dishevelled petitioners, keeping up their desperate battle against overwhelming odds, at the one plucky woman who eluded everybody and reached the actual gates, with constables and inspectors in full cry after her, before she was captured and flung back to be hustled afresh; and she made another amazed comment.

"And this is the free country I've been told about!" she exclaimed. "I'd like to see Wilson treat our women like that!"

The sickening scene went on till the last of the little band of Constitution-builders had been taken off to the police station, torn, insulted, bruised and exhausted beyond measure, but alone in all that crowd triumphant and victorious.

PRESS COMMENTS

A correspondent writes to the *Daily Graphic* protesting against "the callousness of the Press on the horrible occurrences of May 21," and adding: "Whatever may be one's private conviction with regard to the militant Suffragettes' actions, all decent people must deplore a Press with such a low standard of public morals."

This contention is borne out by most of the comments in the newspapers of last Friday and Saturday.

The *Daily News* talks of feeling "deep pain" but proceeds to lecture the militants, not the police, for their violence, and concludes by promising to "persist in putting the logic of the case for the vote, but no logic will overcome the bitterness the militants are cultivating in the minds of plain men."

The *Daily Citizen*, also ignoring the real source of the violence shown outside the Palace, says: "These scenes of rage and brutality are utterly abhorrent. Public opinion is more strongly opposed than ever to these methods, and if the suffrage movement continues to make headway it is because the vast mass of women suffragists have refused to be drawn into this orgy of passion and crime."

The *Daily Telegraph* says, somewhat late in the day (at least we do not remember their defending the women in the days when they did carry their petition to Ministers—on Black Friday, for instance): "But, nevertheless, it remains a fact that it is to Parliament, and to Parliament only, that subjects, whether they be men or women, can present their petitions in favour of any alteration in the law."

A letter from Miss Winifred Holiday in the *Daily News* comes like a breath of the fresh air of freedom. In the course of it she says: "Does not the blame for Thursday's scenes lie with those men (I refrain from describing them as 'wild,' or even 'hysterical') who acted so illegally as to refuse this constitutional request, and to back their refusal by force?"

"If it is right to use force to prevent women exercising their legal rights, should it not also be used against gun-running Ulstermen and their leaders? If on the other hand it is wrong to use it towards male insurgents, is it not also wrong to use it against women under the Bill of Rights?"

OTHER PRESS COMMENTS.

A Liberal View

The repulse of the Women's Deputation to Buckingham Palace on Thursday after-

noon seems to have been conducted with needless roughness. The deputation was, after all, as lawful in its intent—which was to petition the King under the Bill of Rights—as the proceedings of the Opposition a mile away were lawless. Women have no votes; while the Tory Party has many, and the House of Commons is the seat and centre of our voting system. We should therefore have thought that the minimum of force should have been used to repress a demonstration of this kind. Yet we read in the papers that many women were bludgeoned, flung down, and thrown about the roads. If this is true, it is very shocking. The deputation to the King is about the most lawful thing which has been lately done by the W.S.P.U. And it has been the most harshly treated.

—Nation.

A Catholic View

So long as lawlessness is encouraged by one political party and condoned by the other when Ulster is the scene of it, so long will people in England feel qualms of conscience, and hold considerable sympathy with the women suffragists who are punished for offences not greater than those which go unpunished in Ulster.—*Catholic Times*.

We Know the Answer

The Press is making a very strong demand for new measures on the part of the Government. But what can the Government do?—*Aberdeen Free Press*.

A Christian Comment

At the end of a clear, accurate, telling statement of the militant events of last week, "A. D." in the *Christian Commonwealth*, says:—

Well, what are we going to do about it? The present way of dealing with the agitation does not seem to be a very wise or heroic one; it certainly is not successful. Meantime, infinite harm is being done: a bad spirit is spreading, sex antagonism is increasing, respect for the law is diminishing, the majesty of justice is being sullied. Could not our politicians, our lawyers, and our ministers of religion put their heads together and try to find some more excellent way of dealing with the agitation than that which has hitherto been pursued? The woman suffragists who have gone to prison cannot be accused of self-seeking or of being unwilling to suffer for their principles. Surely their fate cannot be a matter of indifference to the servants of Him who was ever the friend and defender of womanhood!

THE "IMPROPER" PETITION

In the House of Commons on May 21, Mr. Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary whether it is his intention to provide police protection for the deputation of women which is to wait upon the King.

Mr. McKenna: The King is not receiving any deputation of women to-day. If any body of men or women should improperly attempt to approach His Majesty the police will enforce the law and maintain order.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SEQUEL

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed to Suffragists in the Press during the week:—

Thursday, May 21.—Two windows smashed at the Home Office. Also the windows at the A.B.C. depot in Parliament Street. Arrests made.

Friday, May 22.—Five pictures attacked at the National Gallery; one arrest made.

Picture attacked at Royal Academy; one arrest made.

Attempt to fire Straughton Hall, a large mansion on the outskirts of Leicester. Suffragist literature, two bottles of poison, and fire-lighters found.

Attempt to damage Rosehall United Free Church, Edinburgh. Bomb placed against wall of church; one pane of glass smashed.

Saturday, May 23.—Attempt to wreck main aqueduct near Balfour Railway Station, seventeen miles from Glasgow. Two bombs found.

Portrait of the King at the Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh, mutilated. One arrest made.

Glass mummy-case smashed at the British Museum; two arrests made.

Black fluid and copies of the *Suffragette* found in several letter-boxes at Bath.

Two plate-glass windows smashed at the Earl of Northbrook's residence in Portman Square. One arrest made.

Tuesday, May 26.—Windows smashed in Kensington Gardens Square, Bayswater.

Wednesday, May 27.—Miss Ada Rice, arrested at Epsom for firing blank car-

tridge at policeman clearing the course for the Derby.

IN THE COURTS

Friday, May 22.—At Bow Street Police Court, before Sir John Dickinson, charged in connection with the deputation to the King, sixty-six women and two men. Majority of the women ordered to be bound over in £5 to keep the peace for six months, but declared their intention of refusing to be bound over. One of the men sentenced to fourteen days, and the other fined 40s., or in default one month. Three women were committed for trial.

At Bow Street Police Court, before Sir John Dickinson, Sydney Granville Drew, printer of the *Suffragette*. Formally committed for trial.

At Marylebone Police Court, before Mr. Paul Taylor, charged with having committed, or being about to commit, a felony, misdemeanour, or breach of the peace, and also on a further charge of having conspired together since January 1 to commit malicious damage to property, five women, one being Miss Nellie Hall. Remanded, bail being refused.

At Marlborough Street Police Court, before Mr. Mead, charged with maliciously damaging a picture at the Royal Academy, Miss Mary Spencer; committed for trial.

At Marylebone Police Court, charged with creating a disturbance at His Majesty's Theatre, two women. One fined 21s., with the alternative of fourteen days' imprisonment, and the other ordered to be bound over.

At Westminster Police Court, before Mr. Horace Smith, charged with window-smashing, five women. Damage in

several cases stated to amount to over £10. Four of the prisoners committed for trial.

Saturday, May 23.—At Bow Street, before Sir John Dickinson, charged with damaging five pictures at the National Gallery to the value of £50 Miss Freda Graham. Committed for trial.

At Marlborough Street Police Court, before Mr. Mead, charged with window-breaking, several women. Six were sentenced to from one to two months' imprisonment with hard labour.

At Marylebone Police Court, before Mr. Paul Taylor, charged on a warrant with conspiring with Miss Nellie Hall, alias Roberts, and others, to commit malicious damage and injury to property, Miss Grace Roe. Remanded until Tuesday, May 26, to come up with the other women.

At Bow Street Police Court, charged in connection with the disturbances at Bow Street on Friday, five defendants. Mrs. Emily Duval, charged with assault and disorderly conduct, fined 40s., or in default twenty days' imprisonment; Mr. Victor Duval, charged with striking a detective constable, and with disorderly conduct, fined 23s. or one month. Woman charged with throwing a bag of flour, fined 40s. with the alternative of ten days' imprisonment. Man charged with shouting while the court was being cleared, ordered to be bound over.

At Bow Street Police Court, before Sir John Dickinson, charged with maliciously damaging a glass case at the British Museum, Miss Nellie Hay and Miss Wheeler. Miss Wheeler sentenced to two months' imprisonment, and Miss Hay, who was further charged with obstructing the police, sentenced to one month.

Monday, May 25.—At Bow Street Police Court, a woman applied to Mr. Hopkins for summons against a man for assault. Summons not granted.

At Marylebone Police Court, before Mr. Paul Taylor, charged with breaking two plate-glass windows, valued at £4, a Suffragist. One month's hard labour.

At Old Street Police Court, charged with obstructing the police, a Suffragist. Ordered to be bound over.

At Edinburgh Police Court, charged with damaging portrait of the King at the Royal Scottish Academy, Miss Maude Edwards. Remitted to a higher court, appearing later before Bailie Stark in the Burgh Court.

At the London Sessions

Tuesday, May 26.—Before Mr. Wallace, charged with damaging a window, two Suffragists. No bills were returned against them, Mr. Wallace stating that they should not have been committed for trial, as the damage was less than £5.

Charged with damaging windows to the value of £6, two Suffragists. Four months.

Charged with damaging five pictures at the National Gallery, to the value of £50, Miss Freda Graham. Six months.

Charged with smashing windows, a Suffragist. Four months.

Charged with damaging two windows to the value of £5, a Suffragist. Four months.

Charged with damaging the A.B.C. Company's windows, three Suffragists. Four months each.

Charged with damaging a picture at the Royal Academy, Miss Mary Spencer. Six months.

At Marylebone Police Court, before Mr. Paul Taylor, charged on remand with having conspired together to commit offences and wilful damage to property; Mrs. Hall, Miss Nellie Hall (alias Roberts), Miss Emmeline Hall, Miss Grace Roe, and two other Suffragists. All were further remanded until Friday (May 29), bail being refused.

"ON MY BARE HANDS"

By Mary Neal

She is the happiest, healthiest girl imaginable, golden-haired, rosy-cheeked, and full of life. She is hardworking, too, and very good to her mother, giving up to her all her earnings, since the mother lost her work some time ago. I have wondered sometimes what her ancestry is, she looks so little a Londoner, and so exactly like a girl born and bred in the country.

This week I had a long talk with her mother, and now I understand. Her mother is country bred and comes from a tiny village in Oxfordshire, where the Morris dance flourished when she was a girl. Lately I was giving a little description of such a village in between some Morris dances, danced by a company of which her daughter is a member. She told me—

"I was back at home in the village where I was born while you was giving your recital."

I explained that my few remarks could scarcely be called "a recital," and then we fell to talking of her early life and the struggle she had had to bring up her children in the great city of her adoption. For her husband died many years ago, leaving her with three small children and another who was born after his death. I think I never heard a more poignant remark than that made to me by this woman, mother of four well-grown, well cared for, hardworking children, as she lifted up her small toil-worn hands and told me—

"I brought them all up on my bare hands."

"Neyer a 'aporth of charity have I asked or had, aye, and I've give to them as wanted it worse than me," was her proud summing-up of her life of toil. Year in, year out, she worked, twelve years and a half in one place, leaving the children when young in the care of a lodger. Then her health failed, and as she said, she had "an abscess cut out of my breast." She sent a substitute to do her work, and when she returned—"Being not very well and a bit irritable like, I answered back for the first time in me life when the forewoman spoke to me. I got the sack."

Since then she has regained her health and looks as cheerful and bright as any woman I know, and is quite ready to go out to work again and contribute her share of money as well as of labour to the home she has so bravely kept for her children. "My Polly, she says to me, she says, 'Don't you worry mother about gettin' work, we'll see you through'; and every penny she earnt, that girl's give me all these months. Now, please God, I shall earn again myself, and give her a bit more liberty and a bit more to spend on herself."

Surely an heroic life this, and one deserving of honour and recognition from the State to which she has contributed so royally of her life and her work!

Yet these women with no learning, no tools, no equipment, no protection such as men have through the Parliamentary franchise, with only their "bare hands" between them and their children and the oncoming forces of starvation and all privations, these women have been cut out of the privileges of the Insurance Act, and have only the choice between standing absolutely alone or accepting the help of the hated Poor Law.

And with these "bare hands," brave, heroic, creative, all-appealing, stretched out in demand for the bare, common rights of citizenship, men are found who still ask why women want the vote!

NEW PAMPHLETS

Facts for "Antis."

Miss Chrystal Macmillan's facts are noteworthy in that they are in flagrant opposition to the fancies put forward by anti-suffragists in lieu of arguments, and in that they attest the practical value of woman's political influence in those countries in which it has been exercised. Wyoming, desirous of being admitted to the United States, yet refused the benefits of incorporation if those benefits could only be obtained by disfranchising its women, and, standing firm, came in on its own terms. This was after twenty years' experience of woman suffrage; and in all the countries in which women have the vote their action is recognised as beneficial. Nevertheless, as Miss Macmillan points out, England is ignominiously faltering along in the rear of the Woman Suffrage Movement instead of leading the van. Miss Macmillan shows conclusively, i.e., by means of definite indisputable facts, the necessity for woman's voice in legislation; she shows what women have accomplished in the countries where that voice is authoritative, and how much there is to be accomplished in England, where that voice is still stifled. G.

The Mother and the Law

It is a particular branch of legislation in which reform is urgently needed that is dealt with in the pamphlet "Beyond the Law," namely, the law of

"Facts versus Fancies on Woman Suffrage." By Chrystal Macmillan. (King and Son. Price 4d.)

"Beyond the Law." By a British Mother. (St. Clement's Press, Ltd., London.)

Testamentary Disposition. As the law now is, a mother can be made a barrier between her children and their inheritance, and it is to this particular form of cruelty that the author draws attention. A woman placed in this position has no redress; the law cannot help her if it would; it is fairly obvious that this particular legislative grievance is not likely to receive reformatory attention until those who suffer under it have power to affect legislation. G.

"The Clerks' Charter"

In "The Clerks' Charter" Mr. Walter J. Read has written an admirably comprehensive little treatise on the grievances, the aims, and the future of clerks, both from the man's and the woman's point of view. "Men," he says truly, "have no right to dictate to women how and when they shall earn their living. On the other hand, women should not cut salaries, for their own sake as well as that of the men." If women, he says further on, "prove themselves better clerks, men must give way; but women should not compete unfairly." Those with homes of their own can afford to stand out for equal pay with men, and should do so at every opportunity, he points out. Mr. Read does not discuss women's political position and its relation to their economic position, but he mentions that men and women are admitted to the Clerks' Union on equal terms, and the latter are eligible for office.

"Be Law-abiding!"

Everybody who read or heard about the delightfully ironic speech made last January at Bournemouth, in which Mr. Laurence Housman presented a complete case for rebellion while complying in the letter with the requirement of the proprietors of the hall that there should be no advocacy of militancy, will be glad to know that it is now to be had in pamphlet form under the above title (published at 2d. by the Women's Freedom League). It even improves on acquaintance, and the finer delicacy of it is more apparent when read than listened to; while those who missed hearing it in St. Peter's Hall will thoroughly enjoy meeting this exquisite piece of irony for the first time in book form.

"NEW TRACTS FOR THE TIMES"†

The second of the brilliant series of Suffrage tracts issued by the Oxford University Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement (the first of which, by Gerald Gould, we reviewed not long since), has just appeared, and is from the pen of the Oxford scholar and universal rebel, Henry W. Nevins. He calls his treatise "The Claim on Oxford," and opens it with an ironic comparison between Oxford and the other Universities of the civilised world, all of which have seemed to him to be united by a common characteristic "which Oxford alone appeared not to share." He goes on:—

One has to call it the love of freedom. For though that seems a little vague and ethereal, yet we all know freedom when we feel its opposite, and, as Goethe said, the word has so sweet a sound that we cannot do without it, no matter what errors it may imply.

This love of freedom, he maintains, is not to be found in Oxford, which, partly because "she is passing into a museum," and partly because of the wealthy ease of her students, "alone confronts the new idea with violent opposition." She therefore is startled and annoyed by "this dynamic idea of women's political emancipation"—a peculiarity not to be wondered at, says the writer, "in the beautiful museum where we have all imbibed some knowledge of antiquities" since—

Even the officials of a Liberal Government, whom we employ to keep a sharp look-out for new ideas, to consider them with sympathy and examine their claims with justice, have attempted to stifle this new and troubling portent by successive acts of scornful animosity, suppression, coercion, treachery, mendacity, and breach of faith such as would have stirred even Liberals to a passion of indignation if their political opponents had been in power.

With the mingled irony and indignation all readers of Mr. Nevins's books have long learnt to associate with his work, he then proceeds to quote militant utterances from Mr. Ellis Griffith and Lord Robert Cecil, and gives a trenchant summary of the "tragedy of errors" by which the Government have brought the question to the present intolerable situation, and pours scorn upon the "Mrs. Jellabys of our peculiar country," who recognise atrocities abroad but are blind to the wrongs of our own women. He concludes with a fine and passionate appeal to the youth of Oxford:—

Many who are dead or ageing have striven to prepare the way. Before your feet the promised land now lies revealed. Yours is the ultimate inheritance of the beatific vision. Looking out upon the future, we older sons of Oxford may behold a nobler race of men and women, more equal in opportunity, freer in companionship, happier with the joy of self-fulfilment, more difficult to please in their standards of excellence, but in all high passions, whether of love or thought or action, more vital and self-assured. It is for you to enter upon a land more beautiful for that transfiguration.

"The Claim on Oxford" makes its appeal to all men and women who love freedom. But it has a special message for the young man standing on the threshold of the new world that the woman's movement has created.

* "The Clerks' Charter." By Walter J. Read. (London: Clerk Publishing Co. Price 1d.)

† "The Claim on Oxford." By Henry W. Nevins. (Oxford: Holywell Press. Price 1d.)

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PEDESTAL OR LEVEL?

Mr. Zangwill's New Play

With "Plaster Saints" now being admirably performed at the Comedy Theatre, Mr. Zangwill has added another to his long list of intensely interesting modern plays. The main question examined is the position of the Priest or Minister who has been appointed to a "cure of souls," and discovers that his own soul needs a cure at least as sedulous. The dramatist has chosen exactly the right surroundings. He places the scene in a Nonconformist manse upon the outskirts of some Northern provincial town. The general tone of ordinary people is still outwardly Puritan. A visit to the theatre even to see "Macbeth" is regarded as a lapse from virtue (the Lay Head of the Congregation thinks that Satan never did a better day's work than when he wrote Shakespeare). The standards of right and wrong, especially between men and women, are regarded as fixed and invariable. And the "pastor" is worshipped as the "Man of God," raised on a pedestal above suspicion.

Though new ideas of science and behaviour (especially of a woman's claim to personality) are beginning to penetrate the younger generation, the rules of life follow the accepted tradition with rigid exactness, and everyone connected with the congregation is so righteous that all can spare a large quantity of goodness for distribution among the heathen, the victims of immorality, and the lapsed and lost. As is said in the dialogue, charity begins at home, and Christian charity abroad. In such an atmosphere the Rev. Dr. Rodney Vaughan stands securely raised upon the solid basis of his reputation, his eloquence, his middle-age, his happy domestic relations with wife and daughters (two sacrificed to good works), and his extraordinary success as a shepherd of souls. So he stands for accepted adoration, like a plaster saint enshrined, and soon the audience finds out that only lately he has been overcome by passionate affection for his girl secretary, who has now gone into hiding to become the secret mother of his child.

This situation of great power and poignant interest is worked out with the irony sometimes called

especially Greek—the irony that allows the audience to know the truth, but keeps it long concealed from the actors on the stage, so that almost every sentence bears to the audience a different meaning from what the actors appear to intend. As in all great drama, the central figure is himself great. In comparison with us ordinary men, he stands far above the level, even without his pedestal. Filled with pity and horror, he is still aware that passion, however guilty, has itself brought him illumination. It has purified his soul by fire. It has shown him for the first time the true nature of the sin and goodness of which he has been idly preaching all his life. It has enabled him for the first time to succour the unhappy, since for the first time he has himself become an unhappy and human creature. Though driven from lie to lie in defence of his position, his family, and the girl he has loved, he becomes entirely sincere, no longer tainted with that "lie in the soul" through which a man lives in perpetual self-deceit.

The main situation in general recalls "The Scarlet Letter," but there are many other lines of interest, hardly subordinate. Especially subtle is the delineation of the falling statue's wife—rigid as the Commandments in her conception of virtue, primitive in her passions of love and jealousy, single-minded in her appeals that reject all argument on sophistry, and yet giving way herself and forgetting all the rigour of her rules the moment that genuine temptation assaults her through a genuine passion—her longing to preserve her daughter's love. And throughout the central drama, we hear all the time the sound of a younger generation knocking at the door, science coming in to destroy pretension, strong-willed claims to self-fulfilment astonishing the middle-aged, and the cry of "Votes for Women" clearing the stifled air.

It is a great play, and, as we said, admirably acted. Miss Grace Lane and Mr. Edward Sass have the chief parts of the Saint and his wife, and for both it is a fine opportunity, splendidly taken. But one would like to mention all the other characters in the cast as well.

H. W. N.

A NEW EDITION

Readers of Miss Mary Maud's interesting article on Rabindranath Tagore's play, which appeared in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* recently, will be glad to hear that a cheap edition of "Chitra" has just been published by Messrs. Macmillan, price 2s. 6d. net.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

There has been a considerable sale at meetings during the past week, and "pitches" are doing well. Everyone must see that a crisis is arising and that only a "strong pull, a long pull, and a pull all together" is needed for victory. Therefore our sellers should be out all over London, and all who care for the cause and have a fragment of time to spare should help in this work. Write, or call Thursdays, Paper-selling Organiser, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Marriage Tie." By Wilkinson Sherren. (London: Grant Richards. Price 6s.)
 "Woman and Labour." By Olive Schreiner. (London: T. Fisher Unwin. Price 2s. net.)
 "Woman and Superwoman." A Comedy in Three Acts. By Adam Neave. (London: Francis Griffiths. Price 1s. 6d. net.)
 "Trades for London Girls and How to Enter Them." Compiled by the Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association. (London: Longmans Green. Price 1s. net.)
 "Sister Jefferies." By Muriel Clark. (London: Nisbet. Price 1s. net.)
 "The Social Disease and How to fight it." By Louise Creighton. (London: Longmans Green. Price 1s. net.)
 "The Claim on Oxford." By H. W. Nevins. (Oxford University Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement. Price 3d.)
 Annual Report of the N.S.P.C.C. (London: 40, Leicester Square.)

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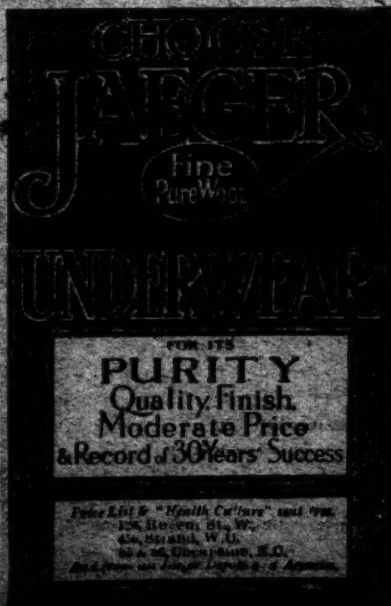
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FRIDAY, MAY 29, 1914.

WRONG ADVICE TO THE KING

We call upon all decent people to make a pronounced protest against the way in which the women's deputation to the King was handled by the Government. We include among the term decent people, all sections of the community—men and women, militants and non-militants, Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists.

We have no intention of entering into any discussion concerning the personal volition of the Sovereign in the matter. According to constitutional practice the King is bound to comply with the determined advice given to him by his Ministers. We assume, therefore, that whatever the personal wish of King George may have been, he subordinated his own inclination to the view taken by the Government, and this being so we hold that he has a grievous cause of complaint against his Ministers for the disfavour into which they have brought him with a high-minded and public-spirited section of his subjects.

We put aside all discussion of the serious grievances from which women suffer owing to their exclusion from participation in the Government of the country as voters, we put aside all discussion of their right, being unrepresented in Parliament, to appeal to the King direct against the dishonest behaviour practised upon them by the King's Ministers. The fact remains that a large and influential body of women believed that they possessed this right and went forward with the intention of exercising and upholding it. It was the obvious duty of the authorities, even if they had determined that the deputation was not to be received, to see to it that it was treated with respect, and that restraint and not aggressive violence should be used against it.

The exact contrary was the case. We have evidence that the police knocked the women down, rode them down, and flung them into the crowd with the utmost violence. When the women caught hold of the bridles of the police horses the police struck them with their

fists, and when they refused to let go, they struck them wildly with their truncheons. The fact that this method of treatment was meted out to the women on all sides proves that it was not a case of individual acts of ill-tempered constables, but a preconcerted policy deliberately planned, with the connivance, if not at the express wish of the responsible representative of the Government.

For this dastardly and scandalous outrage two excuses are being offered. In the first place, it is said that the violence offered by the police was the answer, regrettable, but necessary, to the gross violence offered by the women. This is untrue. The violence shown by the police preceded that shown by the women and was the direct cause of it. It is quite true that some of the women went prepared for such a contingency, but they did so because the experience of previous deputations had taught them that to be absolutely defenceless is no protection against the brutality which the police, acting under orders, will show to a political demonstration. We beseech our readers not to accept the false news which is fabricated in the offices of daily newspapers, but to rely only upon facts which they have themselves seen, or which they can obtain from reliable eye-witnesses.

In the second place, it is being said that whatever the merits of the deputation to the King and of the way it was conducted by the women, it was, in fact, the work of the revolutionary party of Suffragists, and must be judged accordingly. We desire to express our most emphatic dissent from this doctrine, which is not only the quintessence of injustice, but also fraught with the utmost danger to the well-being of the State. From a theoretical point of view, it is quite clear that it is not only contrary to law, but contrary to all sense of public morals to treat A, who is taking part in one action, in a manner which can only be justified by the assumption of his or her unproved complicity with B, who is taking part in a totally different action. From a practical point of view, it is supreme folly to inflict graver injuries upon a person guilty, at most, of a political offence than upon another guilty of a serious crime.

The Government, and Mr. McKenna in particular, have boasted that by their forcible feeding and Cat and Mouse Act they were isolating and gradually reducing the numbers of the men and women prepared to take part in arson and other grave offences against property. We have never believed in their self-complacent arithmetic, but in any case any such projects on their part have suffered an irreparable blow from the events of May 21. It is well known that the deputation to the King provided an opportunity for those members of the militant body who were not themselves convinced of the necessity or wisdom of arson to demonstrate in a manner consistent with their principles. By treating these women with disgusting brutality the Government have undoubtedly added many to the numbers of those prepared to take extreme courses. This would be self-evident to any one who understands human nature, even if it had not been confirmed by the wholesale destruction of property which has followed immediately after. There will always be those who will say: "One may as well be hung for a sheep as for a lamb."

The Government perhaps think that they have the public behind them in this matter, because there is a large hooligan class in every rank of society who invariably rejoice in brutality; but there is a large thinking class also who note these things with abhorrence; who compare the treatment meted out to the women in rebellion in England with the treatment meted out to the Ulster men in rebellion in Ireland, and draw their own conclusions. And the condemnation of the thinking counts more in the long run than the plaudits of the hooligans.

There is only one remedy which the King and his Ministers can adopt with any chance of success for the safety and well-being of the realm. That remedy consists in the even-handed administration of justice and the extension to every section of the community of those inalienable rights of self-government which are essential to the liberty of the individual and to the proper administration of the State.

THE RIGHT TO PETITION THE KING

By C. S. Bremner

**Que droit soit fait comme il est desire.
Le roi le veut.**

These are the ancient forms by which the Sovereign of these realms gave assent to new laws, based, be it noted, very often on petitions themselves, a fact well-known to students of Constitutional history. That the King's officers might not do this, that, and the other in chartered boroughs not immediately under the Royal eye, (the King himself having in many cases conferred charters of liberty), and that these officials should fulfil certain other obligations, set forth, signed, and royally sealed in the said charters, such matters were almost invariably treated of, during several hundreds of the years of this nation's history, by means of petition.

Why Should Women Petition?

There have been times in that history when the nobles clipped the King's wings, as at Runnymede; times when the kings reduced the nobles and the Church to obedience to Law, under the Tudors; times when the middle-class and the aristocracy formed a Great Combine to steal the rights of the peasantry to the soil by Acts of Parliament, usually styled Enclosure Acts. And now we live in a time when the working-classes demand their share of power and pelf, the demands assuming the form of recognition of Trade Unions, Workmen's Compensation and Employers' Liability Acts, the Eight-Hour Day (men only, and these amongst the very strongest), Secret Voting (ballot), Free Education, and more of it, the Minimum Wage, already conceded in certain Government departments, and a hundred other profound social changes which mark the advent of the workers in the Parliamentary arena. What more can women want than a certain share, usually the smallest possible one, in some of the benefits detailed? Why should they first try to petition Parliament, using the Prime Minister as its spokesman and leader, or the Home Secretary as head of the great governing departments, and then appeal to the King, with the same futile result in all cases?

The answer is twofold. Because in the first place they are dissatisfied with the composition of Parliament. Lord Acton summed up the whole matter for them that have eyes to see and ears to hear: "The men who pay wages ought not to be the political masters of those who earn them, because laws should be adapted to those who have the heaviest stake in the country, for whom misgovernment means not mortified pride or stinted luxury, but want and pain, and degradation and risk to their own lives and to their children's souls."

When we examine the double functions of the House of Commons, which of late has become the "predominant partner" with a vengeance, we observe its two great channels of activity deeply tainted and influenced improperly by its composition. These functions are legislative and administrative.

Parliament False to Ideals

In its legislative capacity the British Parliament has been false to any high ideals of justice both between man and man and man and woman. "The public good," said Bentham, "ought to be the object of legislation." The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857, which legally enacted and crystallised a double standard of morality for wife and husband, is an infamous Act, one that defiles the home at its inception, that lowers the dignity of man as surely as it lowers that of woman. A Liberal Government passed the measure and filled up the cup of its iniquity by the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866, 1869. It took seventeen years to wipe the last-mentioned Acts off the Statute Book. These male legislators of ours are not responsible to that larger half of the community which is, sexually, the more moral half. The position is fraught with danger in a teeming population, one which added three millions to its numbers within the decade 1901-1911, despite all the foolish prate of the falling birth-rate. Parliament makes sporadic but not infrequent attacks on women's right to labour, as coal-sifters, barmaids, and what not.

Whilst the cadres of the Territorials are short by 8,000 men, our men crowd into the Civil Service posts, into millinery, cookery, teaching, any mortal job but the one, so they tell us, for which we women are unfit, the noble task of defending the country. When a woman and a man are doing exactly the same work,

the pay is not the same. As every year passes, with more and more men enfranchised and no women, the position of the women becomes worse compared with that of men. This is one of the real secrets of the hidden causes of slum-land, the degradation of women and their children.

Parliament is the head, the steering-wheel of the Administration of Justice, Law, Order, the director of Naval and Military forces, of the Metropolitan Police, of the conditions of labour, of the whole field of Local Government. The entire scheme, from first to last, suffers from being limited to the male point of view. The laws are tainted with that male bias; their administration is similarly infected.

The Administration of Laws

The very day that Mrs. Pankhurst led a band of women to Buckingham Palace to seek audience of the King, Lord H. Cavendish Bentinck declared before the Standing Committee of the House of Commons on the Administration of Justice that offences against women and children are very much on the increase. Why should they not be? An English judge appeared before the recent Divorce Commission and defended the double standard of morality. If a suffragette do but appear before a judge, she is practically condemned before trial. The slightest word of a policeman is accepted before hers in nine cases out of ten. When a man has criminally assaulted even a very young girl-child, the proof exacted is of the most absolute description.

Women, then, complain of the composition of Parliament; of the Laws that are passed; of the Administration of Justice with the scales heavily weighted against their sex. They demand the Right to Vote. They desired to remind their Sovereign that 400 men were elected to Parliament pledged to their enfranchisement, that these men were seduced by the Premier and his abettors into the breaking of their pledges on various flimsy pretexts and Parliamentary dodges, pretexts and dodges which honourable persons have little sympathy with and insufficient patience to follow in their tortuous maza.

"Were I But King!"

They say the King has delegated the right of approach to his person to this Secretary and that Department; that no one can approach his august person without his sanction; that the right of personal audience has never really existed. If our kings were but properly trained, and I would fain have good women help in their training more than is the case at present, we might reap as much benefit from the kingship as nobles, plutocrats, and others have done in the past. Frederick the Great proudly styled himself the procurator of the poor. Might not our royalties, despite all the formalities and technicalities of our complicated procedure, to some extent constitute themselves the legal defenders of the position of women at a time when twenty-three millions of their subjects have no standing, power, or influence in Parliament, when enormous numbers of them are overworked and underpaid, when they are depressed by denial of their capacity, and when, if that capacity is admitted, they are shorn of their due reward on the pretext of marriage, or maternity, or something supposed to be due to the home?

In every nation's history there are times of great stress and struggle of throes of agony, of tremendous conflict between old and new ideas and ideals. Few members of the women's suffrage organisations think that women can be enfranchised by Royal Decree; no one considers that it is the duty of the Sovereign to lean strongly in favour of any special movement or reform. George III. lost us America by a too careful reading of the despatches and by a strong inclination against the Colonials. Yet in times of difficulty sovereigns with the gift of comprehension and intuition, men and women who realised that the existing social carapace was about to be sloughed off as inadequate as a misfit, have learned much from the leaders of reform movements.

Lauds and Straffords

But for the evil counsels of his advisers, his Lauds and Straffords, I venture to think that King George would have seen the Hampden of the women's movement. It has been the unhappy fate of several kings and rulers to learn too late what was the course they ought to have pursued, that they should have inclined

the Royal ear to, not from, petitioners. At the moment, Parliamentary institutions are still on trial. Never has Parliament needed reform more than to-day. It is losing the respect of thoughtful people. Its composition is faulty, its procedure antiquated, its constituencies mapped out in absurd fashion. Women are profoundly dissatisfied with 670 irresponsible males who have passed the worst sex laws that any civilised country has ever possessed.

Kings are generally surrounded by stupid flatterers and evil counsellors. The sands of time and history are strewn with the wreckage of kings who have not understood the duties of their position quite so well as its pleasures and honours.

A youthful Prince of the Blood Royal in France in the eighteenth century had his head well stuffed by his tutor with notions of the dignity, exaltation, power of French monarchs. Whilst reading in his history he came to a certain date, signalled by the death of one of his ancestors. He was very, very young, and looked up from his book to his tutor with large, round eyes: "Mais, est-ce que les rois meurent?" "Quelquefois, mon Prince," said the old tutor, shaking his head lugubriously, "quelquefois."

The Invincible Cause

Kings die; but the women's cause will not die. For every leader that dies in harness or that abandons the cause, for every woman soldier that falls in the trenches, or that is kicked, batoned, thrown down by the police, imprisoned, made to suffer nameless indignities, from forcible feeding to sex assault, ten more will spring up in the empty place. No ruler, principality, or power, no Royal refusal to listen to the women's cry will stay their onward march. We are in the throes of the greatest movement the world has yet seen. "If there be a coming Saviour of Society," said Moncreux Conway, "I am tempted to think it is Woman." Be not fond to imagine that the failure of a mere form can check the great onward march of women to social and political equality.

HOLLOWAY

Oh! Senseless, ugly, soulless is the wall,
The grimy wall—the blacken'd, harden'd wall
Binding our prison round with girding rind—
Poisonous, dark and tall.

Remorseless, grim, impervious to all tears,
Without a break—without one break it runs;
A monument of vengeful human hate
That even Nature shuns.

No living creeper dares its height to scale,
No clinging, mossy tuft of green or grey
Diverts its ordered lines. Brick follows brick,
As day succeeds to day.

Symbol of Tyranny!
Relic of out-worn time,
Blacken'd with sordid crime,
Black with the ceaseless crime
Of man's stupidity!

To your insensate hold,
To your unheeding care,
Souls that are free as air,
Pure, untameable and fair,
Flung—as of old!

Women! What do ye there?
Dared ye man's yoke to cast
Off from your necks at last—
While England shrieks, aghast—
This—did ye dare?

Now ye in durance stay—
Thrust for a little while,
'Neath walls begrim'd and vile
'Neath the unyielding pile
Of Holloway!

Like dim, unmeaning spectres, void of life,
The days pass by—a heavy footed throng,
Treading an endless road that never winds,
Dragging their hours along.

Yet out beyond the far horizon's rim
A great light shines. Beyond this dreard spell
Of Death in Life there dawns a fairer day—
Courage! For all is well.

Courage, O sisters! Lift your hearts beyond
The weary waiting and the Tramping and—
The silence of your cell. Hope liveth yet
While faithfully ye stand.

Olive Hockin.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Throwing Children Downstairs

The *Evening Standard* (May 19) reports case of a man charged at Willesden with assaulting his two children, aged eleven and three. He came home drunk and assaulted his wife; the girl went to her aid, and was flung downstairs and became insensible. The little boy was flung after her. The missionary said the man had ill-treated his wife, a splendid woman, for years.

Sentence:—Six weeks' hard labour.

Assaulting a Wife

The *Yorkshire Evening Post* (May 7) reports case of a coal porter charged at Scarborough with assaulting his wife. Early in the morning he got out of bed, picked up a piece of iron, and hit her across her shoulders; also struck her with his fists. The defence was that she annoyed him by getting up so early!

Sentence:—£2 fine, or one month.

Cruelty to an Ass

The *Pioneer* (May 8) reports case of a hawker, charged before Mr. Hutton at Woolwich Police Court with cruelty to an ass. In evidence, it was stated the animal had sores on the chest and under the tail, had been in this condition a fortnight, and must have been working in great agony. The magistrate said prisoner had been guilty of brutal conduct.

Sentence:—Fine of £3 and 10s. 6d. costs, or twenty-one days.

HEAVY SENTENCES

Stealing a Bicycle

The *Somerset Evening Gazette* (May 23) reports case of a labourer indicted at Somerset Assizes, before Mr. Justice Ridley, for stealing a bicycle at Bath. He pleaded not guilty. There were previous convictions against him for forgery, and stealing fowls, ducks and bicycles.

Sentence:—Three years' penal servitude.

Forging a Cheque

The *Daily News* (May 21) reports case of a woman music teacher, charged at the Old Bailey with forging and uttering a cheque for £10.

Sentence:—Twelve months' imprisonment.

Blackmail

The *Daily Herald* (April 22) reports case of a man who threatened, in a letter demanding money, to kill the head of a business house in Liverpool.

Sentence:—Four years' penal servitude.

The *Daily Mail* (May 23) reports case of a man charged at the Old Bailey, before Mr. Justice Rowlatt, with blackmail by demanding £50 in a letter from a princess. He was recommended to mercy.

Sentence:—Twelve months' hard labour.

The most striking comparison we can offer our readers this week is that between any of the sentences in the left-hand column of the above table and those given to Suffragists at the London Sessions for window-breaking. For damaging glass as a protest against their exclusion from the body politic, where men's dominance has made crimes against women and children of less account than damage to senseless property, several women were sent to prison for four months, last Tuesday. Further comment is unnecessary save to point out that we have in this column repeatedly given cases of gross outrages committed upon little girls by offenders who have been merely bound over, or sentenced to a paltry fine of a few shillings.

ACQUITTALS

Remembering that Julia Decies is still serving her preposterous sentence of seven years' penal servitude for wounding a man from whom she had suffered grievous wrong, that her appeal has been dismissed, and the Home Secretary has refused to interfere, we cannot help commenting on two recent cases in the papers, in both of which death occurred, though the defendants were discharged because, being drunk, they did not intend to kill. Driven to desperation by the treatment she had received—she was about to become a mother, was infected with a horrible disease, had been deserted by the man she shot at, and was going to be deserted by him again—Julia Decies surely had as good a defence for her hasty deed, which did not result in death, as drunkenness was held to be for deeds that did result in death.

"No Intention to Kill"

In one of the two cases referred to, four young men were charged at the Manchester Assizes with causing the death of a night watchman by overturning him in his cabin, so that he fell upon the brazier and died afterwards from the shock and burns. The defence was that there was no intention to kill the man, and when the jury returned a verdict of not guilty Mr. Justice Eldon Bankes told the defendants they had caused the death of an old man though they had not intended it, and hoped it would be a lesson to them not to take so much drink as reduced them to the level of a beast! As we have often said before, it is not the leniency of some sentences, or the acquittal of some defendants, that we wish to condemn, but rather the conviction of others and the severe sentences passed on those who seem to us, as in the case of Julia Decies, to have at least as good a ground of defence.

Drunkenness was again the defence in the case of an iron fixer, who came home drunk, and, when the mother was out of the room for a moment, fell upon the baby and killed it. "Death by misadventure" was the verdict returned by the coroner's jury, and the coroner told the defendant he had had a narrow escape of being sent for trial on a charge of manslaughter. (This case is reported in the *Manchester Chronicle*, May 1.)

We maintain that if drunkenness is a good defence in charges of manslaughter, the treatment and provocation given to

Julia Decies should have been considered as good a defence in her case, which moreover did not have fatal results.

THE RIGHT POINT OF VIEW

We are always glad to welcome the fact when a newspaper takes the right point of view on questions of vital importance to women. The *Sentinel* (May 19) makes strong comments on a case of soliciting, in which two women were ordered to pay a fine of 40s. or go to prison for a month. It asks of the J.P.s on the Bench: "Don't they want to know the really important facts that lie behind some of the cases that come before them?" And it continues thus:—

"Forty shillings! We doubt if they ever handle so much money all at once. And if they paid it, would Virtuous Justice take it—got by such means? Justice share in the gains of sexual vice, and leave these poor creatures still more victims of their driving Poverty? Yes; it would seem so."

"It is much more likely, however, that they will go to prison—and go to Holloway, where we 'torture' women of lofty minds and high courage who are fighting for more power to control their own lives by way of more political and economic independence of men! They will get some advantage from the agitation of the 'suffragettes' fight already, for the women who have made 'Votes for Women' really a burning question, have got the prison cell a little better ventilated."

"But much more 'ventilation' is needed yet—and here is some of it!"

POLICEWOMEN

Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck's amendment to the Criminal Justice Administration Bill, providing for the appointment of women constables, was withdrawn in Committee last week at the request of the Home Secretary, who proposed that it should rather be pressed in the Report stage. We agree with Sir William Byles, who opposed its withdrawal, saying that the Government commonly expressed sympathy with all sorts of proposals, but nearly always added, "Please withdraw this." The argument in favour of policewomen, he said, was absolutely unanswerable.

"PRISONS AND PRISONERS"

The following letter from Dr. Ethel Smyth, which was sent to the *Times*, but not inserted, has been sent to us for publication:—

To the Editor of the *Times*.

Sir,—Owing to the profound and poignant impression the "Personal Experiences of Constance Lytton and Jane Warton, Spinster," has made, judging by Press notices, on readers of every shade of opinion, I am emboldened to ask the hospitality of your columns for the following few words.

Had the writer not inherited the literary gift of her forebears, this book could not have been written; but for the fact she herself would be the first to insist upon, that she belongs to a certain class, it is improbable that it would have found a publisher. As it happens, however, one whom it is impossible to disbelieve—such is the spirit that breathes in every word she utters—has at last told the world what forcible feeding really means.

Lady Constance Lytton is now, as she tells us, partially paralysed; nothing in her life is more amazing and heroic than her having nevertheless completed and edited this book. One fact in it, though

characteristically enough she does not dwell on it, is now as patent to the world in general as it is to those who knew her before what is rightly described as her martyrdom—the fact that the terrible strain to the heart of being forcibly fed is responsible for her present condition; and let it not be forgotten that while the thing was going on she did not struggle.

Meanwhile, and this is my point, other women as capable, gifted, saintly, and heroic as she herself are at this moment enduring the same martyrdom. Some few have passed beyond reach of further suffering for conscience' sake; others are still alive, slowly and surely going the same road.

When the vote is won, and the complete story of the struggle told—a story of which Lady Constance Lytton's is but one most heartrending and exquisite page—what will posterity think of it?—Your obedient servant,

ETHEL SMYTH, Mus. Doc.
Egypt, 1914.

IMPRESSIVE COURT SCENES

What Will Posterity Say?

Amid a silence that was most impressive, two of the women sentenced to four months for window-breaking at the London Sessions, last Tuesday, were carried out of

Court in a state of collapse as a result of hunger-striking while on remand. They could only nod their heads in answer to questions.

Another woman, also sentenced to four months for window-breaking, could only speak in a whisper as a result of hunger-striking.

In Defence

Some of the women made striking statements in the course of their defence. One of them said: "Some men express their feelings by vulgar and bad language. That is not our temperament. We act. This action was really a swear word in action."

Finer Pictures Damaged

Miss Freda Graham, charged with damaging pictures at the National Gallery, said her action was a protest against the unconstitutional way the constitutional deputation of the women had been treated. She added: "Every night pictures by the greatest artist of all are being defaced in our streets—80,000 of them every night."

Miss Mary Spencer, charged with damaging a picture at the Royal Academy, had to be supported into Court, and in a weak though unflinching voice said she respected human life too much to take it, but something had to be done to make a protest, and so she attacked property, much as she hated doing it.

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THE BY-ELECTIONS

Two Government Defeats

IPSWICH

Polling took place at Ipswich last Saturday, with the result that Mr. Masterman was defeated, and the Unionist candidate was returned by a majority of 582 votes.

THE FIGURES

Mr. F. J. G. Ganzoni (U.) 6,406
Mr. C. F. G. Masterman (L.) ... 5,824
Mr. John Scurr (Soc.) 395

U. Majority 582

Liberal Majority at last Election:—344

SUFFRAGISTS AT WORK

It is noteworthy that all the Suffragist Societies engaged in the Ipswich by-election campaign, including the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, the Women's Social and Political Union, the Women's Freedom League, and the New Constitutional Society, were pursuing an anti-Government policy, and urged the electors not to vote for Mr. Masterman.

The Women Suffragists, says the *Daily Herald*, "in spite of the blackguardly conduct of young Liberal hooligans, egged on by the leaders of the party, did magnificent work, and proved that, persecuted and tortured as they are, they are yet able to face angry, bitter crowds, and by sheer persistence make people listen to their demands. It is well-known in Ipswich that many life-long Liberals voted Tory in order to put on record a protest against forcible feeding, Cat and Mouse Acts, the treacherous conduct of the Government towards Women's Enfranchisement, and the fraudulent Poll Tax legislation."

A SUFFRAGIST'S ACCOUNT

A member of the New Constitutional Society, who was one of those engaged in the Suffragist campaign against the Government candidate at Ipswich, sends us an account of the hooliganism that was allowed to go on at Suffrage meetings during the contest. In the course of it she says:

"In the daylight the speakers were comparatively unmolested. As soon as darkness came on they were stoned and pelted for hours at a time in a futile effort to terrorise them into silence. A young man who showed sympathy for the Suffragists was afterwards set upon by the hired hooligans and beaten cruelly. Many other men also rendered assistance, and, as was discovered later, they did this at the peril of their lives. The speakers themselves were bruised almost from head to foot. Standing above the crowd on a lorry, one of them recognised several men whom she had seen in different parts of the country. These it was who directed the attacks of the others. Meanwhile the police stood by, only interfering when attempts were made to rush the platform. As there were never more than six constables to a crowd of several thousands, it is difficult to know what they could have done. That they sympathised with the Suffragists was plainly evident.

His Political Death-knell

By sheer effort of will the speakers were able to raise their voices above the din, and in the midst of a fusillade of stones and bricks, speak for hours at a time. The great mass of the audience listened with extraordinary attention, and were eager that the speakers should realise that it was not the Ipswich electors who were responsible for the disgraceful tactics. When one of the speakers declared that every stone directed against a Suffragist took six votes from Mr. Masterman, and that the booing of the enemy sounded his political death-knell in Ipswich, the greater part of the audience cheered.

"Let it should be thought that the disorder was mere irresponsible hooliganism,

it should be remembered that it was directed always at the anti-Government platforms. And when a member of the Executive Committee of the N.C.S. interviewed the Town Clerk, that gentleman, who is a prominent Liberal, refused absolutely to afford any protection for the speakers, only advising that the meetings should not be held."

The writer concludes by saying that the electors on all sides expressed sympathy with the Suffragists and "disgust at the methods of the Government. That the electors were sincere in their demonstrations of sympathy," she adds, "is shown by the result of the poll."

COALITION MAJORITY REDUCED

Ipswich is the sixteenth seat lost by the Government since the last General Election of December, 1910. The Coalition majority in Parliament has been reduced from 126 to 94.

N.E. DERBYSHIRE

Unionist Gain

Polling was taking place in N.E. Derbyshire when we went to Press last week, and resulted in the return of the Unionist candidate.

THE FIGURES

Major Harland Bowden (U.) ... 6,469
Mr. J. P. Houghton (L.) 6,155
Mr. J. Martin (Lab.) 3,669

Unionist Majority 314

Labour Majority at last Election: 1,750.

WIVES' NATIONALITY

Mr. Dickinson's amendment to the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill, providing that a woman marrying an alien could make a declaration on marriage as to which nationality she desired to possess, was defeated in Committee last Monday, and the Bill was reported without amendment.

In the discussion Mr. McKenna said the almost universal law all over the world was that a wife took the nationality of her husband. Even in Norway, where women had full enfranchisement, no suggestion had been made for an amendment of the kind suggested. There would be great legal difficulties where the husband and wife had separate nationalities.

A Concession to Widows

Mr. McKenna said, however, in the case of a widow or divorced wife there was much to be said for Mr. Dickinson's view, and he offered to provide that by a Home Office regulation a widow or divorced woman could, on application, resume her former nationality, the fee not to exceed 5s.

AN IMPRESSION

A note of hope rings through the deep earnestness of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's voice, which grips the attention and touches the heart, giving one a sense of vitality and joyousness. It was so when she addressed a dour northern audience last Tuesday at Bo'ness, composed almost entirely of those who hitherto knew little of suffrage and cared less. Hard-headed, money-getting, stubborn Scots, seldom caught by fine language or elegance of diction, accustomed to argue from the marketplace rather than from the sanctuary. Mrs. Lawrence's speech was a revelation to them, a new gospel. One cannot easily forget the change that came gradually over the faces of these listening men and women. From an attitude of easy, tolerant indifference they passed swiftly to rapt, silent attention and astonished conviction as the speaker unfolded with fine sequence the historic, the political, the human, the religious significance of the woman's movement. It was all deeply impressive, and one felt more and more the fatuous stupidity of those in high places who, instead of grappling to themselves with hoops of steel this benign force of womanhood, are driving it into a righteous rebellion which shall sweep before it all that dare oppose this mighty, this inevitable evolution. Oh! the pity of it!

Mary Flinay.

MEN OF THE NORTH

The Northern Men's Federation were busy in the Prime Minister's constituency last Saturday, when they held a demonstration to oppose his return at the General Election in all the principal towns and villages of East Fife. There was no opposition of any kind, and large crowds awaited them, especially at Leven, where the audience, composed chiefly of men, listened with the utmost attention to the speakers. The Federation banner, with its defiant mottoes: "Ye mauna trample on the Scotch thistle," and "We're bonny fechtars ilka ane," was carried triumphantly aloft as the Northern Men drove round the constituency.

AMERICA'S FIRST WOMAN SENATOR

In an interesting article in the *Denver Independent*, Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson, member of the Colorado Senate and the

only woman Senator in the United States, tells some of the experiences of her first session.

"Details of Living"

"We women," she says, "through the force of social and economic conditions, have devoted our energies for unnumbered generations chiefly to keeping round after the details of living. We have been members of State Legislatures, in small numbers, for less than twenty years. That is too short a time for changing the whole trend of our nature. So, naturally, we women legislators have still 'kept round after' the little things."

It is noteworthy, comments the *Daily Chronicle*, evidently unaware that women are women even if they are Senators, "that she regards the passing of pure food laws, the making of mothers joint guardians with fathers of the children they have borne, the upbuilding of juvenile courts, and the fight against child labour as the most important tasks a woman senator can undertake."

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MILITANT HEADQUARTERS RAIDED

Shortly after midday last Saturday the police took possession of the offices of the Women's Social and Political Union in Kingsway, and arrested Miss Grace Roe, the general secretary, on a warrant issued by Mr. Paul Taylor that morning, charging her with conspiring with Miss Nellie Hall and others, between October 1, 1913, and May 21, to commit malicious damage. (See "In the Courts.")

It is stated in the Press that the names and addresses of about 150 women were taken by the police, who made a complete search of the building, ejected all the employees and visitors found there, and remained in possession.

ANOTHER "ARSENAL"

On Thursday in last week a flat in Lauderdale Mansions, Maida Vale, was raided by the police; five women, including Miss Nellie Hall, were arrested, and a quantity of stones and documents were seized by the police. The women were brought up at Bow Street on the following day and remanded until Tuesday, and will come up for the third time, with Miss Grace Roe, to-day (Friday).

PICTURES DAMAGED

Five pictures in the Venetian Room at the National Gallery, a painting of Clausen's at the Royal Academy, Lavery's portrait of the King at Edinburgh, and a mummy case in the British Museum were all damaged by Suffragists at the end of last week.

As a consequence of these attacks upon pictures, the National Gallery, the Tate Gallery, the Wallace Collection, the Tennant Gallery at Queen Anne's Gate, and the Leeds Picture Gallery have been closed to the public. At the British Museum women are admitted to the galleries only by ticket, and at Hampton Court the precaution is still taken of charging a shilling for admission.

NEWS OF PRISONERS

Miss Mary Richardson, recently released on licence to undergo an operation for appendicitis, was rearrested at Notting Hill under the Cat and Mouse Act on Wednesday in last week. She was again released last Monday.

Mrs. Drummond, who had been hunger and thirst striking since her committal to Holloway on May 15, was released on licence on Thursday in last week. She refused to give an address to which she might be conveyed, and was finally removed to the Workhouse Infirmary. Later in the day, though extremely ill, she established herself on Mr. McKenna's doorstep in Smith Square, where she attracted a crowd. Finally she was removed in custody in a police ambulance, and as she was too ill to appear at Bow Street on a charge of obstruction, this was withdrawn.

Miss Annie Kenney, who went to Lambeth Palace last Friday to seek sanctuary, was arrested there later in the day under the Cat and Mouse Act. During the day she saw the Archbishop and made a statement to him. It was officially denied at Lambeth Palace that she had been handed over to the police.

Last Tuesday eight Suffragists, sentenced the preceding Friday in connection with the deputation to the King, were released in a condition of great weakness after hunger-striking in prison. They were represented by numbers, having refused to give their names.

On Wednesday morning Mrs. Pankhurst was released from Holloway in an exhausted condition.

FORCIBLE FEEDING

The scandal of feeding prisoners by force while they are on remand, and are therefore in the eyes of the law innocent, continues unchecked. The two women awaiting trial at the Suffolk Assizes are being subjected to this torture at Ipswich, and Miss Nellie Hall asserted at Marylebone Police Court on Tuesday that she had been forcibly fed twice a day in Holloway Gaol since Sunday morning. Miss Hall is also on remand, the police court enquiry in the charge of conspiracy against her not having even been concluded.

Can it be wondered at that both she and Miss Grace Roe, who appeared with her, protested against the proceedings in Court the whole time they were in the dock?

SUFFRAGISTS AT HIS MAJESTY'S THEATRE

The Royal performance of "The Silver King," given at His Majesty's Theatre, was last Friday, the scene of a number of Suffragist interruptions; as a result of the King's refusal to receive a deputation on the preceding day.

At the conclusion of the playing of the National Anthem, a woman rose in the orchestral stalls, and turning towards the Royal Box, addressed the King, exclaiming, "You Russian Tsar—" the remainder of her sentence being inaudible. When she had been removed, a second woman, managed, with the assistance of a third, to clamber on to the side of the stage, below the Royal box, and she had suc-

ceeded in commencing a speech when she was lifted bodily and hurried out of sight. A fourth woman, who made many interruptions, was found to be chained to her seat, while another upstairs showered down leaflets upon the audience. All the women were ejected from the theatre, and were subjected to rough handling.

SUFFRAGISTS IN CHURCHES

A scene was created in Westminster Abbey last Sunday morning by the forcible ejection of a number of Suffragists, who brought their question forward during the service. The interruptions came from all parts of the Abbey, and it was a considerable time before the women were all turned out. Outside the Abbey the women sang a hymn.

At Newcastle Cathedral on Sunday morning women chanted at the end of the Litany their supplication for Mrs. Pankhurst. They were ejected with considerable violence.

THE DERBY UNDER POLICE PROTECTION

"The blight of the militant Suffragist," says the *Times*, speaking of the Derby, which took place as we went to Press on Wednesday, "has fallen upon this as upon other national amusements." By a system of three barricades, which, says the same paper, "suggest preparations for withstanding a siege," it was hoped to prevent a recurrence of last year's tragedy, when, as our readers will remember, Emily Davidson threw herself in front of the King's horse.

Precautions were also taken against the firing of the stands, which have been closely watched by detectives for weeks. And 1,200 police in uniform, besides numbers of plain-clothes men, were drafted into Epsom, where, it was said, they would completely surround the course.

IS THIS INCITEMENT?

Suffragists who complain of police violence are often told that the remedy is in their own hands, and that all they have to do is to bring a charge of assault and so obtain redress.

A woman tried to use this remedy last Monday, and applied to Mr. Hopkins, at Bow Street, for a summons against a man in plain clothes, "either a police-officer or a prize-fighter," who gave her a blow on the jaw in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon. She stated that she was trying to prevent a constable from hitting a woman with his baton during the mobbing of the Suffragettes that took place there. The constable lunged her away, whereupon the assault was committed by the other man.

Mr. Hopkins, saying that Hyde Park was out of his jurisdiction so that he could not grant the summons, then delivered what he described as "a word of advice." He said: "Some day the exasperated crowd will break into a procession of militants. And then what will happen to you women nobody knows. For the moment you have to thank the police for being alive. You owe them a debt of gratitude."

Does not this constitute incitement to the worst elements of London hooliganism, always ready to break out if encouraged? And why should women, who pay rates like other people, be "grateful" for the police protection they pay for?

THE BISHOP OF DOWN CONDEMNS CAT AND MOUSE ACT

The Bishop of Down, in a letter to the *Times* of last Friday, makes a "fancy franchise" suggestion which Suffragists are not likely to take with any seriousness, to the effect that the Parliamentary vote should be extended to "every married woman or widow who is the mother of four children." Apart from the fact that this proposal would rule out large numbers of professional and other women who render as valuable service to the community as those women who are bearing children, the Bishop's suggestion would be rejected by Suffragists because their demand for the vote is based upon a demand for the equality of the sexes, and votes for men are not narrowed down to votes for fathers.

But the really important part of the Bishop's letter is the concluding paragraph, which runs as follows:—

"If, instead of devising odious 'Cat-and-Mouse' Acts, our statesmen would give attention to the bearing of the woman suffrage question on the fundamental problems of our national life, we should soon be in a better way than that in which we are now going. The moral importance of the question has often been set forth, and it cannot be over-estimated. Its social significance is equally great."

OPERATIONS IN PRISON

In the House of Commons on May 21 Mr. Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary under what law or regulation the consent of a prisoner has to be obtained before an operation can be performed by the prison or other doctors.

Mr. McKenna: There is no regulation requiring the consent of a prisoner; but it is the invariable practice to obtain prisoner's consent before a surgical operation is performed in prison.

SYLVIA PANKHURST RE-ARRESTED

Police Break Up Peaceful Procession

Disgraceful police violence marked the re-arrest of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst outside Victoria Park last Sunday afternoon. Dense crowds had gathered both for the Suffrage demonstration to take place in the Park, and also to watch for the arrival of the procession which came with bands and flags to brighten up the East End on a Sunday afternoon, and to escort the speakers to their waiting platforms.

A large force of police awaited the procession at the Park gates. Mounted men and constables on foot stood there in serried ranks, as if in expectation of an invading army. When the procession came in sight, headed by its brass band and composed of East End working people—a pathetic sight, with their worn clothes and pinched faces, as they tramped along—it seemed almost laughable for a moment that the Government should send out its physical force against such as these—whose bodies were shrunk with want of food and so easily crushable, while their spirit was plainly unconquerable. Then it became horribly, tragically painful, as the front half of the procession was allowed to pass into the Park, and a group of fifteen women appeared, chained together in a ring round Sylvia Pankhurst, who marched in their midst.

Police-Made Riot

Instantly all was confusion. The mounted men rode straight down on the procession and broke it up with the utmost violence. Unable to get at their quarry, they swept the chained women and the one they guarded inside the Park, the gates of which they immediately closed. Then they fell upon the little bodyguard, wrenched and battered the chains apart, and took off Sylvia Pankhurst for the seventh time to the prison whose gates she has forced open so often before.

Outside the Park the battle raged fiercely for some time. Can it be wondered at that peaceful men and women, coming to attend a Suffrage meeting, should resent having their liberties thus infringed by the police and their persons battered by forces against which their frail bodies could offer no effectual resistance? So the usual sickening sights followed of

men, women, and children being flung hither and thither, struck violently, hurled among the horses' feet, with here and there an arrest to vary the proceedings.

The Demonstration

Inside the Park the demonstration went on in the most orderly manner possible. At one of the platforms a few young hooligans had congregated, and were making themselves objectionable. Everywhere else the crowds consisted of respectable men and women, who gave the speakers a splendid hearing, and passed the resolution almost without a dissentient voice. Besides the East London Federation of the Suffragettes, other Societies taking part in the demonstration were the Actresses' Franchise League, the Forward Cymric League, the Men's Federation, and the United Suffragists. Among the speakers were Bishop Powell and Mr. George Lansbury.

A POLICE COURT SEQUEL

A human incident followed at Old Street Police Court on Monday, when a charwoman, charged with obstruction at Victoria Park on Sunday, said simply in her defence:—

"Christ was persecuted and so are the Suffragettes, but we shall get the victory in the end."

But the finest note was struck when five previous convictions for drunkenness against the prisoner were proved, and the magistrate, binding her over, made the inevitable comment that she was not much credit to the cause.

This was her reply, and it ought to give her judges some idea of what the movement means:—

"All these were before I joined the cause," she said. "The Suffragettes are making a woman of me."

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FOR A MOTHERS CLUB

Miss Phyllis Potter writes from the Caldecott Nursery School (25, Cartwright Gardens, Euston Road, N.W.):—"A mothers' club is to be opened in connection with the Caldecott Nursery School, and they are anxious that VOTES FOR WOMEN should be among their papers." She adds that the members are too poor to pay for it, and wonders if any reader of VOTES FOR WOMEN would provide them with a free copy weekly.

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"GRAFTON"—A pretty effect gleaned from a "Bernard" model. The sketch shows Black cloth, but we stock in Navy or Grey cloth and Black satin. The simple, long pointed collar, which carries heavy black silk tassels, gives a graceful line. The upper corage is formed by a cross-over effect, encircling waist and tying with long ends in front. Price: In Cloth (lined) ... 4 Gns. Lined ... 5 Gns. In Satin (lined) ... 8 Gns. Our Fashion Catalogue is sent post free on request.

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CORRESPONDENCE

THE BUDGET

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I beg to call your attention to an error in an article entitled "The Budget" in the issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN for May 15. The writer states that "in the case of a widow with four children, whose husband has left her £300 a year, deducting £3 for the four children out of the £9 6s. 8d., she will be obliged to pay £6 6s. 8d. (under the recent concessions she will still be obliged to pay £5 3s. 4d.)"

I do not know how these figures were arrived at, but they are absolutely incorrect. The widow in question is allowed to deduct £160 from her income in the first place, and then £20 for each child under sixteen, making a total in this case of £240. This leaves her with £60 to be taxed. Under the recent income-tax concessions, unearned incomes of £300 and under pay 1s., so that the total tax amounts to £3.

Thus she pays only 15s. more than the man who earns £300. This does not appear to be an unreasonable amount, seeing that her income is assured her for life, whereas an earned income is always more or less precarious, and may cease if health or employment should fail.—Yours, &c.,

(Miss) F. L. STEVENSON.

17, Alderbrook Road, Clapham Common, S.W.

[We regret the mistake in the original statement, due partly to taking the exemption as "15s. in tax per child," as Mr. Lloyd George himself expressed it, instead of as the "tax upon £20 of income," which we understand is the correct way of stating it. On the latter assumption the widow with income of £300 and four children pays £3 tax; the man with four children earning £300, pays only £2 5s.; the difference is therefore 15s. When the incomes are just over £300 the difference is 25s., while for incomes of £400 the difference is £3 6s. 8d. (£9 6s. 8d. against £6). We consider these differences still very serious.—ED. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

INCOME TAX OF HUSBAND AND WIFE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—In reference to your letter, "Income Tax of Husband and Wife" in VOTES of May 8, I wonder if you have ever come across the following, which constitutes my "special grievance" under the present system of assessing income of husband and wife together.

I have a small income of my own, now, alas! considerably under £100 a year, invested in railways and other companies. The income tax, as you know, is deducted before I receive them, and I cannot claim the rebate because I am a married woman. My husband, also, cannot get a return for me because he is away serving his country in a regiment in India, and is therefore for all practical purposes resident abroad. I am therefore compelled by this iniquitous new Budget to pay 1s. 4d. out of every pound of my income because it is "unearned." My small fortune is practically all I have to depend upon. The beginning of my married life I spent a good sum of my capital in paying off my husband's debts, and in this way reduced my income. My husband is still very much in debt, and I cannot rely upon the small allowance he is at present sending me. This is one more intolerable hardship for which we have to thank the man-made laws of our country.—Yours, &c., A. M. B.

THE GIRL-GUIDES

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Great indignation has been felt at the decision of the "League of the Empire" not to permit the Girl Guides to take part in the review in Hyde Park on Empire Day, as they have hitherto done. Last year the companies of Girl Guides roused much public enthusiasm and won the approbation of Lord Roberts by their smartness and discipline. This year three of the boys' associations objected to the presence of the girls on the pretext that it detracted from the military character of the display, and the League of the Empire lowered its standard to suit the prejudices of schoolboys!

This subservience seems particularly strange when we consider that the League of the Empire professes to cultivate the Imperial idea amongst the youth of both sexes, and Lord Roberts himself recently issued a stirring appeal to girls as well as boys to fit themselves for the service of their country. The Girl Guides answered to this appeal. Under the devoted leader-

ship of their women officers, many hundreds of girls of the working classes throughout the country have spent their spare time in learning the elements of ambulance work, nursing and camp cookery. They have thrown themselves into the work with enthusiasm, and have been rewarded by this slap in the face from their nominal friends. It must never be forgotten that the League of the Empire, as it now exists, grew out of the "League of the Children of the Empire," which was founded by two or three far-sighted women who first conceived the idea of a world-wide movement to bring the children of the Empire under the common flag and train them in the duties of citizenship. They recognised the fact that women are as necessary as men to the stability of the Imperial structure. Their successors seem to have lost sight of this truth and forgotten that they owe their success to the efforts and initiative of women.

Women are told that they are incapable of serving their country in time of need, but when they devote their energies to preparing themselves for such service, they are contemptuously thrust aside.—Yours, &c.,

A SUPPORTER OF THE GIRL GUIDES.

SUFFRAGE AND THE WOMEN'S MUNICIPAL PARTY

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—My attention has been called to the letter from Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson in VOTES FOR WOMEN of May 15, expressing amazement "that this newly-formed Society would remain quite neutral on the question of woman's political emancipation, and opened its doors to Suffragists and anti-Suffragists alike."

You will see from the enclosed that the blame, if any, should fall upon me as the originator of the Women's Municipal Party, which I formed in January, 1913, and which the Duchess of Marlborough generously founded in the July of the same year. As there were some twenty-five different organisations for women's suffrage (of which I have always been distinctly in favour), I thought there was an opening, and, indeed, a national necessity for a Municipal party run on municipal lines only.

I enclose the official statement of the formation of the party and its literature.—Yours, &c.,

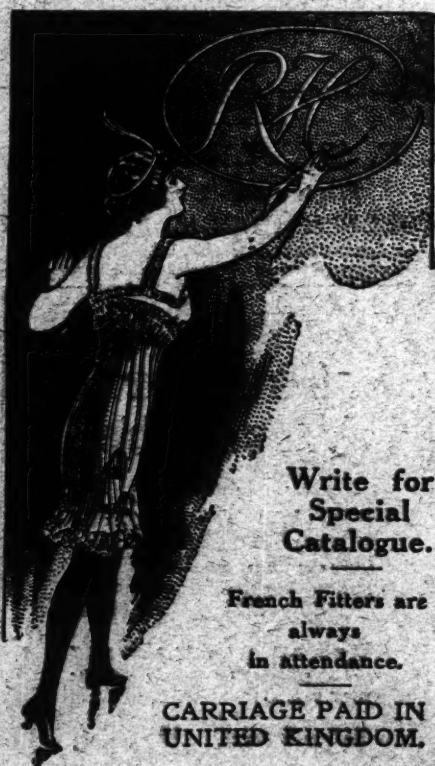
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32, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., May 22, 1914.

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President: Lady Forbes-Robertson

The Actresses held an entirely successful and peaceful meeting in Victoria Park on Sunday, May 24, having a platform some distance from the park gates, where a conflict took place between the crowd and the police. Miss Winifred Mayo took the chair, and excellent speeches were made to an attentive crowd by Mrs. Merivale Mayer and Miss Inez Bensusan. Mr. Joseph Clayton and Miss Evelyn Sharp came over from their respective platforms and spoke for us, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

The next speakers' class will be at the Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, at 3 o'clock on Friday, May 29. The classes are held by Miss Mayo, and members are urged to come forward and support them. Outsiders are also welcome.

The League is giving a performance for the London Society at the Clapham Public Hall on June 4, and a big "at-home" for their own members and friends at the Arts Centre on June 5, as previously announced.

Mrs. Flora Annie Steel has written an Indian sketch to be performed at the costume dinner on June 29, in which she will herself appear, supported by Mr. Rupert Harvey.

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Miss Evelyn Sharp
Mrs. Frederick Whelen
Mr. John Scurr

Mr. H. J. Gillespie, Hon. Treasurer
Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Hon. Secretary
Mr. Charles Gray, Secretary

Join US (United Suffragists)

Public Meeting.—For full account of our public meeting in the Portman Rooms see page 531. Many members were made.

Victoria Park Demonstration.—The U.S. had a platform on Sunday in Victoria Park at the demonstration organised by the East London Federation of the Suffragettes. Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, the Rev. J. M. Maillard, and Mr. Charles Gray spoke to a large and attentive crowd.

Meeting on June 11.—The next members' meeting will take the form of a public meeting on Thursday, June 11, in the Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, at 8.30 p.m. The principal speaker will be Mr. John Scurr, who will speak on the Bill of Rights. Other speakers will be the Hon. Mrs. Harerfield, on "Women and War"; Mrs. Pember Reeves, on "Life on a Pound a Week"; and Mr. W. L. George, on "Suffrage and the Family." Chair: Mrs. Ayrton Gould.

Speakers' Class.—The next will be held in the office by Miss Mayo, on Tuesday, June 16, at 8 p.m. Fees: For members, 2s. 6d. for ten lessons; for non-members, 3s. 6d. Single lessons, 6d.

Election Campaign.—Open-air meetings: May 28, at 8 p.m.—Corner of Liverpool Street and Walworth Road. Mrs. Whelen, Mr. C. Gray.

June 8, at 8 p.m.—Corner of Heygate Street and Walworth Road. Mrs. Whelen, Mr. H. J. Gillespie.

June 9, at 8 p.m.—Corner of Friar Street and Suffolk Street, West Southwark. Miss E. Hickey and Mr. C. Gray.

Drawing-room Meetings.—Mrs. Jopling Rowe and Miss Rorison are giving drawing-room meetings on June 10 and 11 respectively. At each meeting the chair will be taken by the hostess, and Mr. Gillespie and Miss Sharp will be among the speakers.

Strand Branch.—The meeting in the Corn Hall on May 23, addressed by Mr. George Lansbury and Miss Evelyn Sharp, was a great success. Fourteen new members were made.

Badges.—In addition to the large brooch at 6d., a smaller, daintier badge is now on sale at 9d.

Whitsuntide Holidays.—The office will be closed from 1 p.m. to-day (Friday), till 10 a.m. on Thursday, June 4.

WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE

98, St. Martin's Lane, W.C., Tel. City 3335

Secretary: Mrs. Kington Parkes

Forthcoming Sale

Friday, May 29.—Mrs. Cecil Chapman will have goods sold for tax resistance at 7 p.m., at 68a, Battersea Rise. Procession from auction room to protest meeting after sale. Chair: Mrs. Cecil Chapman. Speakers: Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson, Rev. Chas. Wills, and Miss Constance D'Oyly.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

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Lancashire Centre

Miss Phyllis Lovell writes:—"You will, I think, be glad to hear that Mrs. Chance, who is a member of the Fellowship, has stood for the first time for the Talbot Ward of the Southport Town Council, and has been elected by a majority of 164. She went in irrespective of party politics, standing simply as a woman candidate. Her opponent was a man who had lived

in the district for thirty years, and he made his chief weapon against Mrs. Chance the fact that she is a suffragette."

The Ilford Group

The Ilford Group are taking part in Ilford Hospital Carnival (Saturday, July 11), and are anxious to have the Fellowship well represented by new banner and car decorated in the colours. Members will be most grateful if Fellows generally will help by sending donations or offers of personal assistance to Hon. Sec. (Mrs.) A. T. Crouch, 132, Wellesley Road, Ilford.

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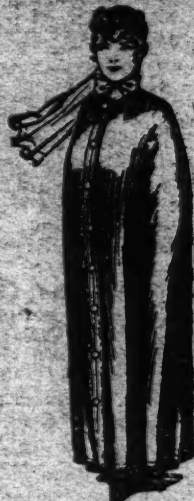
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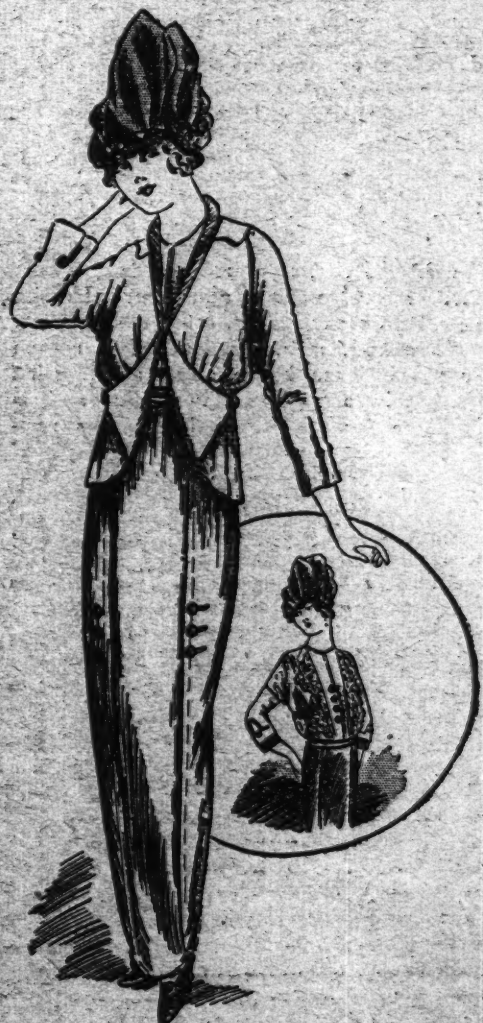


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COMING EVENTS

"Votes for Women" Fellowship

Lancashire Centre

Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate House, Ainsdale, Lancashire.

The Cycle Corps will leave Southport on Thursday, June 4, for Ormskirk. Members will meet by the Free Library steps promptly at 2 p.m.

On Saturday, June 6, the Cycle Corps will leave Liverpool for Woolton. Members will meet in Church Street (Barnett Street Corner), promptly at 3 p.m.

Other Meetings

The New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage will hold a public meeting in the N. O. Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge, on June 2, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Miss Beatrice Kent, on "State Registration of Nurses," Miss Kate Raleigh, and Mrs. McKeown.

Under the auspices of the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, a lantern lecture will be given by the Rev. T. J. Walshe, in the Kensington Town Hall, on June 2, at 8 p.m. Subject: "Blessed Joan of Arc." Chair: H.H. the Rance of Sarawak. Tickets: 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d. each.

Mrs. Annie Besant will lecture, under the auspices of the Theosophical Society of England and Wales, on "Theosophy and Social Work," at Kensington Town Hall, on May 9, at 8 p.m.

An International Conference will be held by the Fédération Abolitioniste Internationale, at Portsmouth, from June 15 to 18.

The New Constitutional Society will give a pastoral entertainment, organised by Miss Bessie Hatton, at Hampstead on June 25, at 8 p.m., when many well-known actresses have promised to assist. Tickets, 6s., including "Comus," may be obtained from the Secretary, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

NO VOTE, NO TAX!

To-day (Friday) a well-known Suffragist, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, will have her goods sold sooner than pay taxes for which in return she is given no vote. Supporters of her protest against injustice should attend the open-air meeting following the sale at Battersea Rise this evening; for this is a form of suffrage agitation that should appeal to militant and non-militant people alike.

FÉDÉRATION ABOLITIONISTE INTERNATIONALE

A most important conference is to be held at Portsmouth by the above-mentioned Federation, the object of which is the abolition of prostitution. The Conference will be held in the Assembly Rooms from June 15 to 18, and cannot fail to be of special interest to women. Several well-known names are down to speak on Tuesday, June 16, when the subject for discussion will be "The Progressive Reduction of Public Immorality." These are Mr. Bronson Reynolds, Chairman of the American Federation of Social Hygiene, M. de Meuron, Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the Abolitionist Federation (Geneva), Madame Avril de Sainte Croix (Paris), and Mr. W. Lyon Bleas. It is seventeen years since the Federation last held its annual gathering in England.

LEGAL ADVICE

For the very small annual outlay of one guinea legal advice and technical assistance are available to members of the Property Owners' and Tenants' Association. The rapidly increasing membership of this organisation is evidence of the value of the facilities it affords, and to women property owners this Society, it is claimed, is of special advantage.

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9, Grafton Street, W.
- Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.
- Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
- Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.
- Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
43, Dover Street, W.
- East London Federation of the Suffragettes,
321, Roman Road, Bow, E.
- Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
31, Alfred Place, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.
- Forward Gymnic Suffrage Union,
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
- Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
13, Broom's Buildings, Chancery Lane.
- Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Walden, Gloucester.
- Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
- International Suffrage Shop,
11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Woman Suffrage Alliance,
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.
- Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Westmoreland Chambers, Westmoreland Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association,
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegal Place, Belfast.
- Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
- League of Justice,
22, South Molton Street, W.
- Liberal Women's Suffrage Union,
Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.
- London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.
- Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
Dunston, Feltham, Surrey.
- Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,
Temp. Address: 18, Cornwall Mansions, Chelsea, S.W.
- Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
- Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
- Men's Society for Women's Rights,
65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.
- Minster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.
- National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
- National Political League,
Bank Buildings, 14, 1, James Street, S.W.
- National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
- New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
- Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,
5, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
- Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
- Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.
- Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.
- Suffrage Atelier,
Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Studio: 8, Stanley Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
- Suffrage Club,
5, York Street, St. James', S.W.
- 'Suffrage First' Committee,
47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
- Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
- United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies,
15, Broom's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.
- United Suffragists,
3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.
- Votes for Women Fellowship,
47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
Lancashire Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate House, Ainsdale, Lancs.
- Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,
43, Sutherland Avenue, W.
- Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
- Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
- Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
- Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
77, Marillo Road, Lee, E.E.
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NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

ETHICAL CHURCH, Queen's Road, W. Sunday morning, May 31, 11, Dr. Stanton Coit, "God"; 7, Dr. Stanton Coit, "Jesus Christ." Wednesday, June 3, Dr. Stanton Coit, "Walt Whitman."

HIGHER THOUGHT CENTRE, 40, Courtfield Gardens, Cromwell Road, S.W.—11.30, Mrs. Flora Parriss Howard, 7, Mrs. Rix Milly, Doré Gallery, 35, New Bond Street, W., 11.15, Mrs. Rix Milly.

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CONCERTS

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY announces a Pastoral Entertainment in Lady Byron's garden, Hampstead Heath, Thursday, June 25, 3 p.m., "Comus," produced by Miss Italia Conti. Miss Maria Yorks will dance. Tickets 5s.—Apply Secretary, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

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